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E S S A Y

ON THE

Life and Character

OF

JOHN Lord SOMERS,

BARON OF EVESHAM:

ALSO

SKETCHES OF AN ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.

PROPOSED TO BE INSERTED

IN A

Compendious History of Worcestershire.

By *RICHARD COOKSEY, Esq.*
OF THE INNER TEMPLE. K.

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The British Museum

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE VISCOUNT OF ALBANY

LEITHWATER

PHILADELPHIA

EXHIBITION

Comptroller-General of the Exhibition

Philadelphia, 1876





TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS
GEORGE,
Prince of Wales.



HAVING been honoured by my Sovereign,
your illustrious Father, with his gracious
permission to submit, in due time, to his
patronage, the work, which under his
auspices I hope to complete, a History of my native
County of Worcester: My pride and ambition will not
be content to submit these Sketches of an Essay, intended

DEDICATION.

to make a part of that work to an inferior protection than that of your ROYAL HIGHNESS.

This I presume to claim, not with a view of attracting your attention to an author beneath, and undeserving perhaps your notice, but demanding it to the subjects of this his Essay, men eminent in their situations, and exemplary in having devoted their great talents and abilities to the service of their country.

It would be misapplying the permitted and this assumed honour, were I to take occasion from it of offering either to His Majesty or your Royal Highness such effusions of praise and panegyric as Dedicators are accustomed to indulge in to their Patrons; especially when justified by such excellencies as are conspicuous in the personage I am thus bold to address. But persuaded that you are better pleased in meriting than you would be in receiving such tribute of applause, deprecating also myself the suspicion and semblage of a sycopant, I renounce the attempt to delineate virtues and characters too exalted
for

DEDICATION.

for me to know or describe in adequate and appropriate language. Conscious of my own want of capacity and powers I forbear and renounce.

LAUDES EGREGII CÆSARIS ET TUAS

CULPA DETERERE INGENI.

Yet will I not be debarred, by false modesty or fear of imputed flattery, from expressing, with exultation, the grateful sense I entertain in common with every Briton of the happiness and glory which we enjoy from the accession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of these kingdoms. An event that ought peculiarly to recommend to your august family and this country the memory of that truly great man I undertake to celebrate, who had the satisfaction (as Mr. Addison, who best knew him, observes) of living to see that happy settlement take place, which he always proposed to himself as the principal end of all his public labours.

His zeal, activity, and abilities, were no less conspicuous and successful in that important and brilliant transaction

DEDICATION.

than they had before been in planning and perfecting the glorious Revolution, the fixing William and Mary on the throne, and accomplishing the happy Union of the Two Kingdoms under Queen Anne: Events attended with such arduous difficulties and obstructions, that I may venture, without arrogance, to pronounce it probable, that we should not now be blest and rejoicing as we are, in the happiness resulting from their completion, if such a man as JOHN LORD SOMERS had never existed.

And permit me, with every grateful and loyal wish for the perpetual prosperity and honour of your illustrious House, most ardently to pray, that when your situation and service shall require it, you may be able to find, and this country to furnish, a Minister equally wise, incorrupt, and well principled as LORD SOMERS was in his day; that the love of liberty, which actuated him through the whole course of his life, and a reverence for the constitution, which he so happily fixed, and left us in the most perfect state, may still survive, and be transmitted to our latest posterity.

Impressed

D E D I C A T I O N.

Impressed with due sentiments of deference and respect,
and bound by every tie of public and private zeal and
attachment, to your ROYAL HIGHNESS, permit me humbly
to subscribe myself,

Your dutiful and devoted Servant,

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND,
SEPTEMBER 1st, 1790.

Richard Cooksey.



D I R E C T I O N

Important notice to the proprietors of churches and schools,
and boards of education, the of public and private schools, and
attendants, to your local authorities, permit me hereby

to inform you that I have been appointed

to the position of

of the

Your faithful and devoted servant

A N
E S S A Y

ON THE
Life and Character

O F
JOHN Lord SOMERS,
BARON OF EVESHAM.

UNEQUAL as I may be thought, and indeed feel myself, to the task of doing justice to the character of Lord Somers, who, in every point of view, as a scholar, a lawyer, a statesman; as the distinguished friend of liberty and of literature, shone with lustre superior to every man of the enlightened and glorious æra in which he lived; to which the history of Europe boasts none equal; yet am I happy, by researches into the private and local traditions respecting this county, honoured by his birth, to wipe away the only blemish and imperfection (if such it can be called) charged upon him by his bitterest enemies, and which himself and his friends disdained to answer or refute. — Swift, that monster of

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ingratitude,

ingratitude, perfidy, and prostitution, when, in the paroxysm of darting forth the envenomed shafts of his wit against the members of the most illustrious ministry ever employed by a sovereign, could only taunt this his former friend and benefactor, with being descended “*from the dregs of the people* ;” and accounts for his shyness and reserve (which was indeed always great to *such* men) to a consciousness of his low and base origin. Nay, an author,² whose mind was cast in quite another mould, and whose manners were totally dissimilar to Swift’s, whilst he paints the lustre of Lord Somers’s name in colours the most vivid, and gives him merit due,³ yet admits this insinuation of his low birth as a shade in the just and illumined picture he draws of him. To correct the mistake of a writer so respectable and well-bred, and give the lie to the unfounded calumnies of the other, I trust I shall stand excused for entering more minutely into the private and provincial situation of his family and connections than would be necessary or becoming, but for such a purpose ; and hope I shall be able to make it appear that, though he derived not from ancestry any ray of those honours and titles, of which his merits and abilities made him deserving, and which his friends forced upon him, yet it was not such as in any degree tarnished their lustre or debased the stock upon which they were grafted. In fact, his origin was precisely such as in all nations and ages produced the most useful and serviceable men to their country, as warriors, statesmen, and true patriots.⁴

Every biographer of this noble Lord, setting out with an account of his being the son of an attorney at Worcester, as in fact he *was*,
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the reader probably connecting such information with impressions which, from the scandalous conduct of some individuals, he may have annexed to the very name of an attorney, makes up his mind as to the ignominy of his birth and origin; not recollecting that, among that order, there have been and are some of the best men and most useful members of the community. Indeed, there was a time when it was inscribed on a tomb-stone, as the highest panegyric, (as upon PORTER, in Claines church, in this county,) that "*he was a lawyer.*" And in these days, and in this very county, I could instance many of the profession, whose names and characters would not disparage the proudest pedigree. But farther to subdue this prejudice, I cannot refrain from entering into a more diffusive detail of his family and early habits of life than it may seem to some consistent with the dignity of history.

During the civil wars between Charles and his Parliament, the county of Worcester suffered more, and was more deeply engaged, than any other perhaps in the kingdom. Every family, almost every man in it, took an active part on one or the other side. The city of Worcester was the first that declared for the King, and the very last that surrendered, after a long siege, to his enemies, in 1647. During the several changes of masters it underwent in that period, (for the Parliament army was as often in possession of it as the King's,) a large pile of buildings, in the northern suburbs of the city, the site of an antient monastery, called, "the White Ladies," had been held in such veneration by both parties, as to be left uninjured and entire when that whole suburb, from the north gate

of the city, and even the hospital of St. Oswald, (to which the White Ladies adjoined,) was demolished and levelled for the defence and security of the city, when at several times besieged. From the time of the dissolution of the monastery, it had been in the possession of a Somers, (one of an antient family, possessed for some centuries of an estate at Clifton, in the parish of Severn-Stoke,) and is mentioned in the chronicles of those times by the name of "Somers's house." The owners and the mansion were equally respected and respectable. They had been honoured with giving reception and entertainment to Queen Elizabeth, in her progress through this county, in 1585, the thirty-fourth year of her reign. The bed she slept in, the cup she drank out of, and some other memorials of that royal visit are still, or lately were, preserved therein with great attention. The gardens, which were extensive and highly cultivated, are also said to have furnished the pear-tree, loaded with beautiful fruit, which the Queen admiring, as growing in the market-place, (to which it had been removed only the preceding night,) added the three pears to the city-arms, in approbation of the good government and order, whereby such fine fruit was preserved safe in such a situation. In this mansion, thus venerated, and considered as neutral, indeed as sacred ground, throughout the whole course of the civil war, Charles the Second took up his abode during the short stay he made at Worcester, previous to the decisive battle, fought September 3, 1651; and shifting himself there after the defeat, and whilst a council of war was holding at Barbourne-bridge, went off, in disguise, through the fields adjoining the house, to Astwood, and thence to Boscobel; leaving his garters, two pair of fine fringed gloves,

gloves, waistcoat, and small cloaths, in possession of the family, who carefully preserved them. The name of this house (White Ladies) has, by being connected with Boscobel, made a confusion in all the relations of his escape.

The like motive of safety and personal tranquillity, amidst the horrors of war, which prevailed on Charles to make that house his secret quarters, induced Mr. John Somers, son of Richard, the then possessor of it, to place there his wife, who was delivered of her son John, afterwards Lord Somers, about this very time; as she had been of a daughter, named Elizabeth, the preceding year. These being born at such times, and in such a situation, occasions their place of birth or baptism not to be found in any Register.

Their father, John, at that time commanded a troop of horse, which made a part of Cromwell's army, then encamped on the south-east side of the city. He had been usually stationed at Upton, and attended to the protection of the family estate at Severn-Stoke, in that neighbourhood, which his father had settled upon him, on his marriage with Mrs. Catharine Severn, in 1649. There he always liked to live, when at leisure from his other employments; and there he died, January, 1680, in a good old age, truly deserving the eulogium given him by his noble son, in the inscription on the monument, erected to his memory, in the church of Severn Stoke.⁶ The battle of Worcester having decided the fate of the royal party, and a species of settled government taken place, this Mr. Somers quitted the profession of arms; and his family promising

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an increase, to the support of which he thought the produce of that part of his paternal estate, settled on him, then not quite three hundred pounds a year, would be a scanty provision, he took a house in the precincts of the cathedral, at Worcester, and practised as a lawyer. The settling the several deranged affairs and estates of the landholders of the county, which, it may be supposed, the disorder of the times had thrown into confusion, afforded him abundant employ and proportionable emolument.

One of his first transactions in this his civil capacity, was dictated by true charity and the early veneration he had conceived for the hospital of St. Oswald, adjoining his birth-place, the White Ladies, which his father had given with his Claines estate to his sister. This hospital had been totally demolished during the civil wars, and the estates belonging to it were got into the hands of various invaders. The exertions of Mr. Somers enabled Dr. Fell, the then master, to retrieve the whole, and to put that excellent charity in a better state than ever.

But, the employment, which was attended with the most important consequences to his family, and indeed to the public, was the superintending the finances and estates of the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury; as it produced that connexion and cordial friendship which took place between his son and the Duke of Shrewsbury, as will be taken notice of in the course of his life. But I cannot leave this good old gentleman without mentioning a trait or two, delivered down on indisputable authority, which set his character in a true light.

Whilst

Whilst the troop was quartered about Upton, he used to frequent his parish-church of Severn-Stoke. The minister at that time happened to be a zealous Royalist; and though often warned against it by Captain Somers, could not forbear introducing in his sermons violent invectives against the opposite party. To cure him effectually of this propensity, the Captain, in the transport of one of those furious harrangues, fired a pistol over his head, and lodged a ball in the sounding-board of the pulpit; the mark of which is shewn, and the history of it related by the clerk of the parish to this very day.

Another characteristic tale of him is told in a very paltry performance, intitled, "Memoirs of the Life of Lord John Somers," published soon after his death, in 1716.

"Mr. Somers's father," says he, "used to frequent the terms, in London, and in his way from Worcester was wont to leave his horse at the George, at Acton, where he often made mention of the hopeful son he had at the Temple. Cobbet, who kept the inn, hearing him enlarge so much in praise of his son, to compliment the old gentleman, cried, 'Why wont you let us see him, Sir.' The father, to oblige his merry landlord, deferred the young gentleman to accompany him so far on his way home; and being come to the George, took his landlord aside, and said, 'I have brought him, Cobbet, but you must not talk to him as you do to me; he will not suffer such fellows as you in his company.'"

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There is no traditions of any exploits of his in the military line of his life: however, he thought proper, on the restoration of kingly government, in the year 1660, to sue for and obtain, under the great-seal, a full and ample pardon of all murders, rapes, felonies, and misdemeanours of every kind, by him committed before that time; which pardon is now in the possession of his illustrious descendants. But malice itself never laid any such crimes to his charge. I shall only farther observe of this good man, that during his residence in the College precincts he had two daughters born to him, thus registered in St. Michael's parish church, under the head of christenings.

1653. Mary, the daughter of John Somers and Catherine his wife, was born the 15th of October.

1655. Catharine, daughter of John Somers and Catharine his wife, was born the 7th day of April.

This Mary married Charles Cocks, esq. grandfather to Charles Cocks, created Baron Somers, in 1784; and Catharine married James Harris, esq. of Salisbury, the ancestor of Lord Malmesbury. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, born at the White Ladies, married Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, but died without issue; and another daughter died unmarried, and is buried in Worcester cathedral, with this inscription, composed by her brother John.

DEPOSITUM

DEPOSITUM

SEABRIGHTIS SOMERS JOHANNIS ET CATHARINE FILIÆ

QUAM IN PRIMO JUVENTÆ FLORE

MORBUS RAPUIT IMPORTUNUS.

MORIBUS ILLA VULTUQUE MODESTO

OMNES CALLEBAT ARTES

QUÆ VIRGINEM DECEBANT.

QUID PLURA — HIC UNA JACENT

PARENTUM DELICICIÆ ET DECUS ET DOLOR.

OBIIT 20 OCTOBRIS ANNO } DOMINI 1679.
 } ÆTAT 18.

Having thus given the best account I have been able to collect of the father and his daughters, it is time to return to his son John; whom I have stated to have been born at the White Ladies, in 1651. Previous to the marriage of this his son, to Catharine Seavern, Richard Somers had given, as before observed, his estate in Claines to his daughter Mary, on her marriage to Mr. Richard Blurton, an eminent clothier of the city of Worcester, who settled at the White Ladies, and added greatly to that estate, which was made the marriage portion of his wife. This lady became so fond of her nephew, born at her house under its protection, that she took upon herself the care of him; nor would suffer her brother, when he removed to the house, near the cathedral, to take with him this his son, whom she bred up, and considered as her's, having none living of her own; and only one daughter, who had married a Cooksey, and also lived at the White Ladies. This

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house

house young Mr. Somers always considered as his home, and resided in it till he went to the University.

That prodigies might not be wanting, as omens prefaging his future eminence, it was affirmed, and believed by the superstitious people in the neighbourhood, that the good lady, his aunt Blurton, walking with him in her hand, when a child, amongst her poultry, a beautiful roost-cock flew upon his head, and crowed three times with peculiar energy. This idle tradition comes well attested to me from the Rev. Mr. Pixall, who derived it from his grand-mother, who lived at the time in intimacy with the family, and had no doubt of the fact.

Notwithstanding this abode at his aunt's, he enjoyed the benefit of his father's company and conversation, by being sent at a proper age to what is called the college-school, in the neighbourhood of his father's house, where he dieted constantly, and spent with him his vacations, at his country house, at Clifton, in the parish of Severn-Stoke. The apartment, appropriated to him there, remains and bears the name of his study to this day.

But the period of his general residence at the White Ladies, viz. from 1651 to 1674, being the most proud and flourishing days of the county of Worcester, and of that house which then gave the lead to it, and had a principal sway in its politics, a minute detail of the circumstances, condition, and connections of both, is not foreign to the life and early habits of this great man,
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and will develop the foundations of those excellent principles, which he always professed; and that height of character and importance to which his eminent abilities raised him.

The master of the college-school, about that time, was Mr. or Dr. Bright, eminent in every branch of classical education, and of the highest reputation in his profession. Of a rank greatly superior to his employ, to which he applied himself, by a peculiar turn of mind, from choice, and the delight he took in it, rather than from necessity, or motives of emolument. He was at the same time Prebendary of the cathedral, a preferment of high dignity and profit; and proprietor of a considerable estate, in the parish of Colwall, in the county of Hereford, called Brockbury; which continues at this time in his name and family.

Other gentlemen, whose names do honour to this their master, and the county, had here their education at the same time with Mr. Somers; and acquired, with the perfection of classical and polite learning, that integrity and ingenuousness of manners, by which they were afterwards distinguished in public life.

Whilst Mr. Bright, and his successors in this excellent school, were thus employed in inculcating liberality and learned accomplishments on the gentry of the county, the famous Richard Baxter, of Kidderminster, was no less successful in impressing a spirit of industry and serious and religious habits on the commonalty and trading part of the community. No words can express, no ima-

gination can form an idea of the benefits which accrued to this county, especially in the neighbourhood of his residence, from the efforts and exertions of this honest, pious, eccentric divine. There needs not indeed farther proof of it than the veneration, almost adoration, universally paid to the merits of a man, who, with the purest and liveliest sense of true religion, and perfect knowledge of practical divinity and the beauty of holiness, could so far condescend to the temper and debased humour of the times, as to entitle one of his tracts, "A Shove to the heavy ***** Christian." This alone would have stamped perpetual ridicule on a character and author of less resplendent qualities than Baxter possessed, but obtained to him more numerous admirers and followers.

He was minister of Kidderminster, (which town ought to erect a statue to his memory,) from the year 1642 to the Restoration, in 1660, when he was unwillingly removed from that care, and refused the bishopric of Hereford, which was pressed upon him by the Court. Inspired by him, the county of Worcester felt their being behind others in the arts of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. An immediate application to them gave a new face to the country. A general industry succeeded to a desponding state of inactivity, and opulence diffused itself in every channel of trade. With a spirit, that cannot be enough admired, they, by a general subscription, sent out Andrew Yarranton, an ingenious and industrious man, for the purpose of travelling through Holland, Germany, and other countries, to make observations, and bring home an account of their improvements in trade, manufacture,

manufacture, and husbandry. He completed this undertaking; of which his employers availed themselves much to their profit and the public benefit.

In 1677 he published the result of his commission, in a tract, intitled, "England's Improvement by Sea and Land;" not even now unworthy of attention; in which he teaches, "how to outdo the Dutch without fighting, and pay debts without money;" by making navigable canals, employing the poor, registering lands, &c.

Nor let this account of Richard Baxter, and the state of the county of Worcester in his time, seem foreign to the life of Lord Somers; as the White Ladies, where he received his birth and earliest education, was a sort of out-settlement of Baxter's, in constant communication and connexion with him and Kidderminster; and a society, formed upon his principles, and practising the arts and habits of industry and sobriety, which he so successfully introduced.

That mansion was the occasional residence of three or four families; capable, from its dimensions, of accommodating many more; connected by intermarriages with each other, and numerous alliances with others, in the county. A daughter of Somers, as said before, had married a Blurton; his sister a Robert Foley, of Stourbridge; and one of the family of Cooksey had married the only daughter of Blurton. They lived together in a style, of which, in these times, it is difficult to form or give an idea.

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Their mornings were employed by each in their respective occupations; the culture of a large farm; the cloathing-trade, then in a flourishing state; the producing and manufacturing teasels, woad, madder, and all dying materials; the making bricks and tiles, in immense quantities, to supply the demand, occasioned by rebuilding the ruined city and suburbs; (from this circumstance, in some of the abusive ballads of those times, Lord Somers was stiled the "brick-maker's son;") and superintending the operations of above twenty families, who earned their subsistence under them, and dwelt in cottages regularly constructed for their comfortable accommodation. The labours of the day over, they repaired for refreshment to one common table, in the great hall of the old nunnery, where seldom fewer than twenty or thirty relations and friends of the families assembled daily, and spent their evenings in the utmost cheerfulness and conviviality. — The products of the farm, the supplies of fish and game, and viands of every kind, received constantly from their country connexions, furnished their table with abundant plenty, and entitled such contributors to a place at it without ceremony or reserve. The annual slaughter of two brawns marked the festivity of Christmas; and a custom much better known to the Romans than our countrymen, of having a large gilt salt-feller in the midst of the table, and a collar of brawn constantly exhibited thereon during Winter, was here retained till within this century.

The Foleys, then in the full career of amassing, by their industry, that immense wealth the family now enjoy, were one or
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other of them constant guests. A Robert Foley, as before observed, had married a sister of Blurton; and one of the Windsor family (equally numerous and active in improvements of every kind,) a daughter of the Cooksey's. The Salways, Winningtons, and Seabrights, added also to the dignity and cheerfulness of this happy society. At their meetings were talked over and settled their several private concerns and interests, as also the politics and parliamentary adjustments of the county and the several boroughs in it; which were at this time thus respectably supplied and represented.

THE COUNTY. — By THOMAS FOLEY and SAMUEL SANDYS, Esq.

THE CITY. — By Sir FRANCIS WINNINGTON and Sergeant STREET.

DROITWICH. — By HENRY COVENTRY, Secretary of State, and SAMUEL SANDYS, jun.

EVESHAM. — By Sir JAMES RUSHOUT and HENRY PARKER.

BEWDLY. — By PHILIP FOLEY.

All these had occasionally their meetings at Somers's house, whose hospitality and abundant accommodation for visitors, (in the two dormitories of the nuns, still preserved,) supplied the defect of inns and taverns, not in use or fashion at that time as at present; when all that antient hospitality and social intercourse is lost and almost forgotten in the county.

But

But the greatest and most brilliant accession to this family society took place about the year 1672, when the young, gay, and accomplished Earl of Shrewsbury, who having five years before lost his father in a duel, with the Duke of Buckingham, (whose horse the wanton Countess, his mother, is said to have held, in the habit of a page, during the combat,^s) and whose affairs were managed by Mr. Somers, conceived an attachment to this place, to the company resorting to it, and to the conversation of young Mr. Somers, who, being nine years older than the Earl, had the advantage over him in school-learning and acquirements of every kind. The Earl, to whom Charles II. had stood godfather, in the year 1660, soon after his restoration, had been brought up a Roman Catholic, the religion of his family; and the priests and Jesuits had been indefatigable in their endeavours to inculcate in him an attachment to those principles from his earliest youth. Father Peters particularly watched over him with the strictest attention; considered him as his pupil, and rendered him every office of friendship and favour in his power.

Becoming however very soon infected with the licentiousness of the Court, in which he found himself courted and caressed to a degree beyond his resistance; and conceiving a disgust to the practices of the priests and people put about him, he took a resolution of retiring into Worcestershire, where his principal estates lay. But his house at Grafton not being in a state to afford him a comfortable residence, and his affairs introducing him to an intercourse
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with the family of Somers, he chose to make the White Ladies his principal abode whilst in the country.

Here he contracted that intimate friendship and regard for young Mr. Somers which lasted through their lives, unabated but by some deviation of the Earl (afterwards Duke) from the original political principles. Here, however, at this time being boys together, their friendship was ardent and unalloyed, and, on account of the happy society in which they lived there, Mr. Somers was induced to delay his removal to the University, for which and the Bar he had been always intended, till the year 1674, when he was twenty-two years of age, though abundantly qualified for it long before. In that year he entered himself a Commoner, I believe, (though Anthony Wood says, a Gentleman Commoner,) of Trinity college, recommended to him by the learned Dr. Hopkins,¹⁰ a prebendary of the cathedral, and intimate friend of Mr. Somers. Nor did he quit that scene of learned leisure, the sort of life he liked, until the year 1682, upon the death of his father. But neither was the period, to which he delayed his late entrance on academical studies, nor the intervals of vacation, during his long residence there, idly or unprofitably employed.

Those times he dedicated chiefly to the cultivation of the society he enjoyed at the White Ladies, and the friendship of the young Earl of Shrewsbury, who usually met him there; and who, after Mr. Somers entered himself at the Middle Temple, (which he did in the year 1676,) took him to London, and introduced

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him there to all the great patriots and leaders of opposition to the arbitrary measures of the Court, with whom the Earl had now connected himself. During his Lordship's residence in Worcestershire, from the conversations of the society he there fell into, and chiefly by the ascendancy his young friend, Mr. Somers, had obtained over him, he had conquered the prejudices of his early education, and conceived a proper contempt for the superstitions of the Romish church, and a detestation of the pious frauds of the priests and Jesuits, which, before that time, had possessed him. From the variegated assemblage of company and characters he met with at the White Ladies, he learned a liberal way of thinking, both in civil and religious concerns. He saw there fully displayed the fopperies of popery, the follies into which an extravagant dread of it had driven the sect of Puritans and Presbyterians, and the beauty of holiness and moderation displayed in the principles and practice of the church of England. It was here, and at this period of their lives, that Mr. Somers and his gay young friend amused themselves with sketching from the life the characters of **PETER, JACK, and MARTIN**, and their ludicrous disputes about the fashion of their coats. It was from his own sensible observation, and this humorous representation of absurdities in religious systems, that the conversion of the Earl from popery was effected, who was too dissipated to attend to the grave and sober disquisitions and arguments of a Tillotson, which however were not wanting, and which gave weight and dignity to that important event, which contributed so much to the happy and glorious Revolution". That
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these sketches of characters, which after many years lying by, and passing through the hands of Lord Shaftesbury and Sir William Temple, and were given to the world by Dean Swift, under the title of "The Tale of the Tub," were the early sportive productions of Mr. Somers's pen I have no doubt, from the private tradition of the family; and drawn by him, from real life and originals, within his own observation.

His uncle Blurton, as good and pious a man as ever lived, furnished the portraiture of the Church of England man. The character of JACK, the Calvinist, exhibited that of his grandfather Somers; such a devoted admirer of honest Richard Baxter, as induced him to spend most of his latter days with him, at Kidderminster, and to direct his remains to be deposited under a cross, in the church-yard there, as supposing the ground hallowed by the sanctity of that good man. PETER had his lineaments from *Father Peter* and the Jesuits, with whom the young Earl was constantly beleaguered. Addison was in the secret, but as it was the wish of Lord Somers, that it might not be disclosed, he only hints at it in "The Freeholder," written upon his death, May 4, 1716." Indeed, to demonstrate it not to have been the work of Swift, needs no more than the internal evidence of the composition itself. It is manifestly above him, as is very obviously remarked by Mr. Walpole," and Dr. Samuel Johnson. From a very dull academic, and his servile employ as amanuensis to Sir William Temple, and publisher of his writings, it cannot be conceived that he should at once burst forth the author of a tract so superior

in wit and composition to every thing he afterwards produced. — How poor and flimsy, in comparison with this, is the humble imitation of the same species of humour, in the “History of John Bull,” compiled by him and Dr. Arbuthnot many years after! The truth is, that Swift found, among Sir William Temple’s papers, the only copy Mr. Somers ever made of this boyish amusement; which, in hours of unreserved and social convivialty, (of which no man was more fond,) he had communicated to his friends, Lord Shaftesbury and Sir William, but to whom he had forgotten he ever intrusted it. This Swift copied; and, by servile adulation and professions of zeal and attachment, prevailed on them, after striking out some reflections on kingly government, to which the young author’s were not, at the time of writing it, much attached, to suffer him to publish it as his own,¹⁴ which he did, with a dedication to Lord Somers, and is the *chef-d’œuvre* of his prose writings — preferring the reputation of a witty writer to that of a serious and conscientious member of the church, to his admission into the higher orders of which, this publication was urged as a perpetual bar. Lord Orrery, who supposed it Swift’s, speaks of it “as one of his earliest productions, and as one never equalled
 “in wit or spirit by his own or any other pen; defends it, as
 “containing no intended insult against Christianity, but merely
 “as a satire against the wild errors of the church of Rome (in
 “PETER,) the slow and incomplete reformation of the Lutherans, (in MARTIN,) and the absurd and affected zeal of the
 “Presbyterians (in JACK). The author’s arrows are chiefly directed against PETER and JACK: To Martin he shews all the
 “indulgence

“ indulgence that the laws of allegory will permit. Peter and
“ Jack, however wide the difference in fashioning their coats, most
“ sincerely agreed in their hatred to an adversary so powerful as
“ this anonymous author. They spared no unmannerly reflexions
“ on his character, and had recourse to every kind of abuse that
“ could reach him. Sometimes they said it was the work of
“ Swift and his dissolute companions; sometimes that not a syl-
“ lable of it was his own, but of one of his uncle’s sons, a clergy-
“ man. Sometimes it was the work of a person that was to be
“ nameless.”

Swift himself makes the best and most serious apology that can be made for the author, in a preface to the work, dated June 3, 1709, wherein he properly and candidly acknowledges that there are in it several youthful fallies, which, from the grave and the wife, may deserve a rebuke; yet, adds he, “ I will forfeit my life if
“ any one opinion can fairly be deduced from the book, contrary
“ to sound religion and morality.” And this he might say with justice and truth; — but the tertusses of the church, in those times, could not brook the introduction of ridicule, though for the best purposes, and with the purest intention, in a matter they styled of divinity.

They charged him with a crime of which he was perfectly innocent — that, in descanting on the number three, to which he confines the modes of a man being elevated among the vulgar, — the *stage*, the *gallows*, and the *pulpit*, he alluded to the holy trinity.

Whereas

Whereas the original author had made the number four, and added a *throne*, as another species of exaltation; but, for obvious reasons, had struck out this and other passages that favoured strongly of republicanism,¹⁵ though sufficient still remains to convince the reader, that the real writer had some tincture and principle of that sort; to which Swift, if he had any, which is doubtful, was ever diametrically opposite and averse.

The youthful fallies and follies in the work he alludes to are divers luscious and lascivious allusions and expressions, which prove the author's experimental acquaintance with all the practices of this wicked world, and to have lived in habitual indulgence of pleasurable commerce with the fair sex.

These, though they may be called *follies*, and thought excusable in *young men*, such as I assert the real authors to have been, corrupted by the licentious fashions of the times, and inflamed by a flow of the finest animal spirits that ever men possessed, would take the name of *crimes*, and unpardonable *immoralities*, in a *sober clergyman*, dignified with church preferment, as Swift then was. Nor was he ever suspected of such impurities, or in any of his works ever mentions the sex but in terms rather nauseous and disgusting.

In the Apology, prefixed to the Tale of the Tub, when first published, in 1709, which was written by Swift himself, he there says, " the greatest part of this work was written many years
" since; — the author was then young, his invention at the height,
" and

“ and his reading fresh in his head. By the assistance of some
“ thinking, and much conversation, he had endeavoured to strip
“ himself of as many prejudices as he could.” This description
has not the least resemblance of any situations of Swift’s life and
habits at that or any period; but is exactly applicable to those of
Mr. Somers and the young Earl of Shrewsbury and their Worcester-
shire connexions and conversation.

That the Earl had a share in the work is I think clear, from the
many invectives interspersed in it against poor Dryden, to whom
the Earl had conceived a particular antipathy. He had, perhaps,
felt the lash of Dryden’s wit; and he detested the mean motives
of his apostacy, and the prostitution of his poetical talents to the
vilest political purposes. He therefore, in these prolusions,¹⁶ takes
every opportunity of venting his keenest satire upon him, and loads
with perpetual insults, as Lord Orrery observes, the greatest,
though not the most prosperous, of our English poets. Neither
Mr. Somers or Swift can be suspected of any rancour against a
man, whose great genius and abilities they admired, and whose
defects and distresses they pitied. These strokes therefore evidently
flowed from the private resentments of the young Lord.

Equally manifest are the same feelings in a poem, which got
abroad about that time, and was universally attributed to Mr. So-
mers, and always since published as his work, intitled, “ Dryden’s
“ Satire to his Muse;” which, though it does no great honour to
the poetical abilities of either, wherein they certainly did not excel,
yet

yet bears strong marks of their concert in the composition, and of its being their joint performance. The invectives and gross language with which it abounds are to be placed to the score of the young debauched Lord; and the didactic and serious part of it, expressive of the principles of the English government and constitution, flowed from the pen of the lawyer, who abhorred indecency of every kind, and is always styled, by the vile and abandoned writers of the *Atalantis*, even in the recital of his amours, the grave *Somerius*. For it is not to be denied, that whilst one of these friends impressed on the other the purest principles of civil and religious liberty, himself became, by evil communication, in some degree infected with the gallantries of a licentious Court, in which the other was so deeply immersed.

But, to return to the juvenile situations of Mr. Somers, from which this long digression, so analogous to the Tale of a Tub, has carried me: As a member of Trinity college, he lived as other students lived, his exercises, of which I have seen some, are no wise remarkable; and I find there nothing recorded of him, or worthy to be recorded, except an entry in the *Bursar's book*, of the year 1675, the year after he entered, of his giving them five pounds, towards the repair of the chapel; which I should not mention, but as a proof of the liberality with which his father supported him there; few students being, even in these times, enabled to spare a donation, small as this may seem, out of the usual allowance to young men of his rank. They shew, in the same book, as a testimony of his regard for the college, a farther present
of

of one hundred pounds, for the same purpose, some years after he left it; which he did in the year 1682, without taking any degree, or aspiring to any academical honours. Indeed, the greatest part of his time was taken up in classical and poetical amusements, rather than studies; in excursions to his pleasurable connexions in Worcestershire, and with the company to which the young Lord Shrewsbury, who was his constant associate in London, had introduced him. Thither he removed altogether on his father's death, in 1681. Under the patronage of Sir Francis Winnington (to whom he was never clerk, as is idly reported, but who owed in great measure his election for Worcester to the influence of the family at the White Ladies;) he soon became eminent as a lawyer, and had competent business in his profession during the reign of King James. But his young friend, in the ardency of his fondness for him, having, in King Charles's time, introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Russell, Sidney, and the illustrious supporters of the cause of liberty, he had previously distinguished himself in the first rank of political writers, to which his genius and accomplishments more inclined him.

Young as he was, he became employed by the Party to answer King Charles's Declaration on dissolving his last Parliament; and indeed, as I am warranted by the authority of Bishop Burnet¹⁶ to say, that most of the admirable state papers of those times, ascribed to Sidney and others, were written by him. Of the professional tracts known to be his, the "Treatise on Grand Juries,"

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and

and "The just and modest Vindication of the last Parliament of Charles the Second," do honour to his parts and acquirements.

But we are now to contemplate him as exalted to a new scene of life, and about to shine in a series of public employ and services; glorious indeed, and highly beneficial to his country and the cause he supported; to himself perhaps less happy and agreeable than the literary leisure and domestic tranquillity he liked, and had reluctantly renounced.

In 1688 Mr. Somers, then thirty-six years of age, became distinguished as counsel for the imprisoned Bishops; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, like a true Israelite, as holding it no sin to impoverish and spoil the enemy of his cause, having borrowed of his old friend, father Peters, all the money he could get, to the amount (says Tindal, in his Continuation of Rapin) of forty thousand pounds, with it joined the Prince of Orange at the Hague.

As under his auspices Mr. Somers had become thus great and conspicuous, at the expence of those tranquil and domestic pleasures they had shared together, his noble friend seems to lament the share he had taken in it, by these strong expressions, in a most affectionate and condoling letter he wrote to him from Rome, in 1701. — "I wonder a man can be found in England, who has bread, that will be concerned in public business. Had I a son,

" I

“ I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hang-
“ man than a statesman.”

With this I conclude these memoirs of the earlier part of the life of Mr. Somers.

But before I enter on the brilliant part of his subsequent honours and public services, the recital of which will exhibit one continued panegyric, it will be proper to give some answer to the other charges of his enemies, as contained in that memorable, though infamous paper, of Swift's Examiner, No. 26.¹⁸ His origin, from the *dregs* of the people, which is the expression of Mrs. Manly, as well as Swift, is already refuted. His conversations with Toland were never on the subject of religion; of which, whatever were his notions, they were formed and digested long before he knew such a man as Toland existed, who obtained access to and intercourse with him, merely as a joint admirer of Milton, and a coadjutor in raising and spreading the reputation of this his favourite poet, by the superb edition of his Paradise Lost, with cuts, published by subscription, in the year 1688, by Tonson, at the recommendation of Mr. Somers. The other charge is founded on a supposed amour and attachment between him and a Mrs. Blount, whose husband had been three several times set up in business by his Worcester friends, who, at length, finding him a man whom it was impossible to serve or save from a jail, left him to his destiny, and contented themselves with recommending his wife, a

very sensible and deserving woman, who had been the mother of a large family, to Lord Somers, as a house-keeper; in which capacity she lived at his house, at Belbar, and proved an excellent servant and nurse to him, as long as he lived. His ideas, as to connexions with women (having been disappointed in his first attachment, on which he renounced ever after the thought of marrying) were such as he professes and teaches in the Tale of a Tub, "*Jacere collectum humorem in corpora quæque.*" Nor did any man ever suffer more than he did from indulging this favourite maxim, in which he was by no means nice, or in the least degree delicate. To this was owing his frequent illnesses and calls to Tunbridge; and what was worst of all, that wretched state to which the brightest parts, and intellects God ever bestowed on man, were reduced before his final dissolution.



S K E T C H E S

OF AN

E S S A Y,

ON THE

Life and Character

OF

PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.

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PHILIP EARL OF HARDWICKE

S K E T C H E S
O F A N
E S S A Y, &c.

WHEN I proposed inserting such an Essay as this, in the History of Worcestershire, it was not my intention to extend the account of a life so recent and conspicuous as this of the Earl of Hardwicke, the founder of a family, distinguished in every branch of it by situations and virtues so highly elevated, beyond the connexion that family bore to this county. But having received communications from two correspondents, relative to the subject, containing matter which, from my age and line of life I can have no personal knowledge of, nor be expected to vouch for their authenticity, yet, in civility and gratitude to such respectable and friendly compliance with the request I have made, and still continue to make, for information on these subjects, I think it my duty to give their letters in their own terms.

The author of the first, who very obligingly suffers me to publish his name, well informed as he is, and instructive and entertaining

taining as are the memoirs he gives of Lord Hardwicke and his family, I suspect of some trivial inaccuracies ; and the writer of the other, who insists on being unknown, of many more ; which I shall be happy to correct and set right, from such authentic information as I may be favoured with during my residence at Lausanne ; and before the publication of my proposed History, and the Essay I promised to accompany it ; of which I consider this as a very imperfect sketch.

Leaving therefore the letters of my correspondents to speak for themselves, I shall proceed according to my first intention, as a Worcestershire man, to arrogate to this county the honour of so much of Lord Hardwicke's life as interfered with it ; and glory in its having produced by far his better part, his most excellent wife, an all-accomplished lady, the neice of John Lord Somers, and inheretrix of his virtues and abilities, as far as womanhood admitted.

If Cornelia, the mother of the two Gracchi's was, as Pliny tells us, honoured at Rome with a public statue, for having produced and educated such meritorious sons, much more ample praise and public acknowledgements are due to the merit of this lady, for having given birth and exquisite culture to five sons and two daughters, the most accomplished of the age they lived in, and promising, in their progeny, to transmit a succession of every political and private virtue to the latest posterity. This merit was exclusively her own ; for I know, from a source of undoubted authority, that she

she has often humourously laid claim (as she had good right to do) to so much of the merit of Lord Hardwicke's being a good Chancellor, in that his thoughts and attention were never taken from the business of the Court by the private concerns of his family. The care of which, the management of his money matters, the settling all accounts with stewards and others, and above all, the education of his children, had been wholly her department and concern, without any interposition of his, farther than implicit acquiescence and entire approbation. She first found out the true medium that decided the long-disputed question of preference between a public and a private education, by instituting, at Hackney, under the direction of Mr. Newcome, a kind of seminary, consisting of such a number of young gentlemen as sufficed to excite a spirit of emulation, and contribute to social and improving converse; yet not admitting more than the master could carefully attend to the improvement and conduct of. Never did pupils do more honour to their tutor or mode of education. Unhappily for Oxford, the purchase of Wimple, in Cambridgeshire, left no choice as to the university which finished their studies; and their mother had merely the merit of selecting colleges and tutors, who gave and received equal honours from the great and good qualities with which they all set out into public life. With one only I can boast any acquaintance, and that but slight and superficial, Mr. John Yorke; who, declining the bustle and turmoil of public life, and spurning even that parliamentary distinction to which he had for some time submitted, and was repeatedly in-

vited, and almost compelled by his family connections, chose to display, in a private station, and in company of real friends, such sweetness of temper and complacency of manners, as constitute him the very model of a true well-bred English country gentleman. Proud as I am of the honour of such an acquaintance, I mention it only in proof of my position, that the bright and admirable qualities of the sons were not derivatives from the father; he, having over-leaped at one bound the middle station of life, had not, as I have been informed, the least conception of the dignity and happiness annexed to it; entertaining a sovereign contempt for the character and habits of country gentlemen, of whom he saw and knew none but such as sued to him for the wages of corruption; and was, in the true sense of that word, now so detested in a neighbouring kingdom, an ARISTOCRATE. As to her daughters, they were wholly educated under her own inspection, and that of her sister, Lady Williams, whilst she resided in her father's house, at Worcester; where she was indulged with the company of the eldest, afterwards Lady Anson, for many years. Here, from her earliest years, she cultivated a very elevated genius, with every art and accomplishment the country could bestow. Under the tuition of old Mr. Doharty, a mathematician of uncommon eminence, she made a progress in that science beyond what the sex in general are thought capable of, and became a proficient in drawing and painting equal to the first artists of that age. A performance of her's, in this science, occasioned her receiving the following compliment from her accomplished brother

brother Charles ; which I cannot refrain transcribing, in honour to them both, and in proof of the fraternal fondness of this amiable family, in the dawn of that effulgence of glory it afterwards attained.

ODE to the HONOURABLE MISS YORKE,
ON HER COPYING A PORTRAIT OF DANTE. — SIGNED CLORIO.

By her Brother the Honourable CHARLES YORKE.

FAIR Artist! Well thy pencil has essay'd
To lend a poet's fame thy friendly aid.
Great Dante's image in thy lines we trace,
And while the Muses' train thy colours grace,
The Muse propitious on the draught shall smile,
Nor envious leave unsung the gen'rous toil.

Picture and Poetry just kindred claim,
Their birth, their genius, and pursuits, the same.
Daughters of Phœbus and Minerva, they
From the same sources draw the heav'nly ray;
Whatever Earth, or Air, or Ocean breeds,
Whatever Luxury or Weakness needs;
All forms of beauty Nature's scenes disclose,
All images inventive Art compose;
What ruder passions tear the troubl'd breast,
What mild affections soothe the soul to rest,
Each thought to Fancy magic numbers raise,
Expressive picture to the sense conveys.
Hence, in all times, with social zeal conspire,
Who blend the tints, and who attune the lyre.

See!

See! in reviving letters infant dawn
 Ere yet in precepts from old ruins drawn;
 New artists form'd, each Grecian bust replac'd,
 Sham'd the mock ornaments of Gothic taste;
 Ere Leo's voice awak'd the barbarous age,
 Oppress'd by monkish lore and Vandal rage;
 See Dante, Petrarch, through the darkness strive,
 And Giotto's pencil bid their forms survive!
 When now maturer growth fair Science knew,
 Titian her favour'd sons ambitious drew.
 Not half so proud with princes to adorn
 His tablets, as with wits less nobly born.
 Ariosto, Aretine, yet better skill'd,
 On letters and on Virtue fame to build.
 These, in their turn, instruct the willing song,
 The painter's faded glories to prolong.
 In later times hear Waller's polish'd verse
 The various beauties of Vandyke rehearse;
 And Dryden, in sublimer strains, impart
 To Kneller praise, more lasting than his art.

Friendships, like these, from time receive no flaw,
 Contracted oft with those we never saw;
 In ev'ry art, who court an endless fame,
 Through distant ages catch the sacred flame.
 See Zeuxis, warm'd by Homer's rage divine,
 With rapture read, and what he reads design!
 See Julio, bred on the Parnassian soil,
 With Virgil's grandeur dignify his toil!

Clorio

Clorio perhaps like aid to Dante ow'd,
Intent his figure on the canvass glow'd:
To Dante's fame the grateful colours flow,
And wreaths of laurel bind his honour'd brow.

Thou too, whom Nature and the Muse inspire,
Lift'ning the poet's lore, hast caught his fire;
With so much spirit ev'ry feature fraught,
Clorio might own this imitated draught;
And Dante, were he conscious of the praise,
Would sing thy labours in immortal lays;
His melancholy air to gladness turn'd,
Nor longer his unthankful Florence mourn'd.
Fair Beatrice's charms would lose their force,
No more her steps o'er heav'n direct his course;
To thee the bard would grant a nobler place,
And ask thy guidance through the paths of peace.

Oh! could my eloquence, like his, persuade
To leave the bounded walks by others made;
Through Nature's wilds bid thy free genius rove,
Copy the living race, or waving grove;
Or boldly rising, with superior skill,
The work with heroes or with poets fill;
Then might I claim deserv'd the laurel crown;
My verse not quite neglected or unknown:
Then should the world thy glowing pencil see
Extend the friendship of its art to me.

Margeret,

Margaret, the youngest daughter, who was perfectly beautiful, acquired at home, under her mother's eye, the graces and accomplishments she was so well able to impart. Both these young ladies my informer has often seen at Powis House, opening the door of their mother's apartment, (where he had the honour of attending her during the settling her domestic accounts on Monday mornings,) and, with the most graceful deference, asking what company was expected, and in what manner they should dress for the day. Having received her ladyship's directions, they courtesied, and withdrew. On this she has observed, that Lord Chancellor was in a hurry to be made an Earl, which the King would make him any day he chose it; but I delay it as much as I can. These girls, you see submitting with so much humility and observance to consult me even in the little article of dress, would perhaps, by the acquisition of titles, be transformed into fine ladies, and abate in their respects to me. Their fortunes too on marriage must be doubled. Ten thousand pounds, which would be deemed a sufficient fortune for a Miss Yorke, must be made twenty to a Lady Elizabeth and Lady Margaret. She would then turn to her accounts, and observe, that she had, with more difficulty than could be imagined, established a rule for every tradesman she dealt with, to bring in his bills on a Monday morning; which regulation she had then so effectually enforced, that on that day's noon Lord Chancellor owed not a shilling to any man, except Mr. Dillingham, the apothecary; a man too honest and too eminent in his profession to make such punctuality necessary.

Wimple.

Wimple possesses, and will long possess a signal, and literally a *shining* proof of the good management, sagacity, and foresight, of this most excellent lady. The purses, in which the Lord Chancellor always carries with him the great-seal of England, is decorated with the King's arms and other devices, curiously embroidered, by the most ingenious artists in that way possible to be procured. This purse and embroidery, by antient custom, is annually renewed; and that of the former year, not at all the worse for wear, usually remained a perquisite, of no considerable value, to some one or other into whose hands it happened to come. Lady Hardwicke observing, and availing herself of this custom, caused the new annual decorations of the purse to be embroidered in its usual form, on a large piece of rich crimson velvet, of a dimension corresponding to the height of one of the state-rooms at Wimple, as if she had foreseen the number of years her Lord would enjoy the post of Chancellor. The purses, just twenty in number, complete the hangings of the room, and the curtains of a bed, singularly magnificent. The rich embroidery on each piece, like trophies, unwarlike indeed, but bearing honourable memorial of the number of years that high and important post was held by the founder of the family, with the most irreproachable character for justice and integrity. Nor is it less to the honour of the œconomy and foresight of Lady Hardwicke that, without the least injury of any one, she contrived, at a trifling expence, to put that family in possession of such memorial, so unique in its kind, and so superior to any magnificence in furniture, and display of grandeur, that the

most

most lavish expenditure could supply. With a just abhorrence of the abuse and misapplication of riches, no one ever knew better their use, or applied them with more propriety in the supply of every expence becoming her Lord's rank and station in life. She would often smile at hearing the idle and malavolent tales of the cold chine being turned, and found bare, the potted sawdust to represent lamprey, and the want of Dr. Mead's kitchen to be added to Powis-House; and only observe, that uncertain as was the time of Lord Chancellor's dining, and the company that would attend him, yet if it should happen that he brought with him an ambassador, or person of the highest rank, he never found a dinner or supper to be ashamed of.

To recite the many anecdotes I have received from this informer, of her very sensible attention to domestic management, and the œconomy of her family (on which she chose rather to found her character, than on the reading and literary accomplishments she possessed in a high degree) would too long detain me from the matter of fact with which I proposed to introduce this essay. It was my intent merely to mention, that in June, 1719, the fortunate era of Mr. Yorke's budding honours and happiness, he came to Worcester, and presented to Mr. Charles Cooks, a very respectable magistrate and country gentleman, who had married Mary, the eldest sister of John Lord Somers, a letter from his brother-in-law, Sir Joseph Jekyl, master of the rolls, recommending the bearer as a proper match for his eldest daughter Margaret, then the young widow of a Mr. William Lygon, of Madersfield,

who

who died soon after his marriage the year before. On perusing the letter, the old gentleman told him to leave his rental and writings with him, and he should have an answer without delay; nor could he easily believe, on finding the bearer of this letter was furnished with nothing of that sort, that he was the man his brother Jekyl so strongly recommended to him. On representing his doubts and difficulties to the Master, he received for answer, not to hesitate a moment accepting the present proposal; for that the gentleman, who made it, and was now content with his daughter's fortune of six thousand pounds, would, in another year, expect not less than three or four times that sum with a wife. This argument, *ad hominem*, had its effect, all objections ceased, and the marriage immediately took place. Thus did this county part with one of its most valuable products, and enriched the house of Yorke with the brightest ornament of all their acquisitions. And let it still lay claim to a grateful remembrance, that into whatever regions her illustrious descendants may transplant the virtues and perfections she so eminently possessed, it was to the county of Worcester they owed their first source and origin. Nothing remains to complete the eulogium of this most excellent lady but to detail the names and titles of her illustrious issue; all of whom, by a singular felicity, she lived to see enjoying every honour and happiness the fondest parents could wish for their children.

I. Her eldest son, Philip, who, in 1764, succeeded his father as Earl of Hardwicke, married 1740, Jemima Marchioness Grey, only daughter of John Earl of Broadalbine, and grand-daughter of

the Duke of Kent; who, in that year, was created Marquis Grey, to him and the heirs male of his body, and in default of such issue the dignity of Marchioness to this his grand-daughter, and her heirs male. His Grace dying in the same year, was succeeded by the present Marchioness in that title, and as Baroness Lucas of Crudwell; which title descends to her daughters; of whom Jemima, the youngest, married Lord Grantham; and has issue sons, of whom the eldest will, on her death, succeed to this title and her immense estate. This Earl died in May, 1790, full of years and honours: contented with what of the latter descended to him, he declined seeking or accepting additional ones. Being a capital supporter of the principles and party, which was headed by the amiable Marquis of Rockingham, there was no post or office in Administration to which he might not have been appointed, as there were none to which his abilities would not have done honour. That body of respected and real patriots generally held their private meetings and consultations at his Lordship's house, in St. James's-square; and it was at one of those that his brother appeared with the seals, which his Majesty had prevailed on him to accept, on the resignation of Lord Camden. The expressive silence with which he was received and dismissed by that illustrious assemblage of his friends, made him but too sensible of their disapprobation of his conduct. His self-condemnation of it also, and horror of consequential shame and diminution of his high character, proved fatal to his life. His last moments gave Lord Hardwicke an occasion of expressing his nice sense of honour and refined

refined delicacy. The seals, and the patent creating him Baron Morden, were on a table in the apartment of the dying Chancellor. What hinders, said one of his friends, the great-seal being put to this patent, whilst his Lordship yet lives? I forbid it, said his noble brother. Never shall it be said of one of our family, that he obtained a peerage under the least suspicion of a dishonourable practice. Nor did his son, now Earl of Hardwicke, ever regret or feel the loss of this title, having enjoyed for many years as much respect and dignity under the name and distinction of Mr. Yorke, of Cambridgeshire, as could have been conferred by the proudest and best deserved peerage.

II. Charles, who, after displaying the most shining abilities in the several introductory law offices, of Solicitor and Attorney General, was unhappily appointed Lord Chancellor of England, on January 17, 1770; which appointment, not being attended with the approbation of his friends, or his own, had such effect on his feelings as to render life insupportable. He quitted it on the 22d of the same month, to the inexpressible grief of all good men, who knew him. Happily he leaves a son heir to his virtues, and the honours and great estates of the family.

III. Joseph, many years ambassador to the States of Holland, Knight of the Bath, and in 1788, deservedly honoured with the title of Lord Dover; whose eminent services to his country, and manifold accomplishments, would suffer diminution and disparagement by any feeble efforts of mine in their praise.

IV. John,

IV. John, born August 27, 1728, married Elizabeth, daughter of Reginald Lygon, esq. of Madersfield, Worcestershire, whose daughter is married to Reginald Poole Carew, esq. of Authory, Cornwall. Of this gentleman, who enjoys the offices of Clerk of the Crown, and Register of Bankrupts, every thing praise-worthy may be justly said; but not to offend by expressions, which might seem flattery, I have only to refer to some genuine letters of his, preserved among the papers, bequeathed, by Dr. Price, to the British museum; in which the amiable qualities of his mind and manners are most pleasingly exhibited, and afford full proof, that his preferring a private station in life is not owing to the want of abilities to shine in the most conspicuous and exalted, if he had made such his choice.

V. James, the present Bishop of Ely, who has also revived the antient connexion of this family with the county of Worcester, by having married Mary, sole daughter of Dr. Isaac Madox, Bishop of this see; the best good man, and truly charitable, of the times he lived in; the most liberal, social, convivial, and entertaining companion in his unbended hours; the heartiest friend, the warmest Whig, and the most zealous promoter of every public and patriotic undertaking for his country's benefit and honour.

The infirmary, at Worcester, and indeed almost every institution of that benevolent sort throughout the kingdom, own him their father and founder. The exertions, for establishing the herring-fishery of the nation, on an extensive scale, lived and died with him.

him. His plantations at Forthampton, an estate he purchased of the Dowdeswells, with part of the great fortune he acquired, by marriage with his excellent lady, (for he was little enriched by the revenue of his church preferments, so great was his charity and munificence) are extensive, and do honour to his taste and providential care for posterity. Happily the issue of this well-united pair, (who have made this purchase of Bishop Madox their provincial residence) promise, and heaven grant them, a succession of descendants to enjoy, in long and lasting ages, the beauty and benefit of these, their venerable ancestors care and attention for generations to come.

Nothing more need be said of the two daughters of Lord and Lady Hardwicke, than that the eldest was Lady Anson, and the other Lady Margaret Heathcote. A panegyric on names, who shone so lately and so long the ornaments of the British Court, would be superfluous and fulsome. This only I can aver with acknowledged truth, that their graces and virtues had no abatement or alloy; and their happiness no other than what was widely and severely felt by all their connexions, that they were not the joyful mothers of children.

In order to fulfil the title of this Essay, some character of his Lordship may seem proper to be subjoined to this account of his family. Far from me be the presumption of such an arduous attempt, and the vanity of giving an opinion on a subject so far elevated above my comprehension and powers, indeed any powers
of

of language. That task is saved me, and the reader will be more abundantly gratified, by my giving him what the masterly pen of Lord Chesterfield has said on this subject, speaking from full and personal knowledge of it, and with authority not to be doubted or disputed.

CHARACTER of LORD HARDWICKE,
BY LORD CHESTERFIELD.

LORD HARDWICKE was perhaps the greatest magistrate this country ever had. He presided in the Court of Chancery above twenty years; and in all that time none of his decrees were ever reversed, nor the justice of them questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption — a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion.

He had great and clear parts; understood, loved, and cultivated the belles lettres.

He was an agreeable, eloquent, speaker in parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to mistake, or at least seem to mistake their own talents, in hopes perhaps of misleading others, to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke

wicke valued himself more upon being a great Minister of State, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great Chancellor, which he certainly was. All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper department. The great shining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the course of thirty years, and still greater parsimony, he acquired an immense fortune, and established his numerous family in profitable posts and advantageous alliances.

Though he had been Solicitor and Attorney General, he was, by no means, what is called a prerogative lawyer — he loved the constitution, and maintained the just prerogative of the crown, but without stretching it to the oppression of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent; and when, by his former employment he was obliged to prosecute state-criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the blood-hounds of the crown.

He was a cheerful, instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained with any vice (avarice excepted); a very great magistrate, but by no means a great minister.

But

I cannot give a better or more proper account of the close of his life than as the matter of fact was given the public in the narration of it in the chronicles of those times. — “ On Tuesday, “ March 6, 1764, died, at his house, in Grosvenor-square, in “ his seventy-fourth year, Philip Earl of Hardwicke, whose character and conduct will adorn the most interesting pages in the “ history of this age and country. At present it may suffice to “ pay this small tribute to his memory. After a well-grounded “ education in classical learning, which he retained and cultivated “ amidst his most laborious and highest employments, he applied “ himself to the study of the law, in the Middle Temple, with “ uncommon success; and soon became so eminent in his profession, that at the age of twenty-nine, on the 23d of March, “ 1719-20, he was promoted to the office of Solicitor-General, “ being honoured with knighthood the June following. In February, 1723-4, he was made Attorney-General. Upon the resignation of the great-seal, by Peter Lord King, in October, “ 1733, Sir Philip Yorke waved his own pretensions, founded “ on both merit and priority of rank, in favour of his friend, “ Charles Talbot, esq. then Solicitor General, and accepted the “ important place of Lord Chief-Justice of the King’s Bench, “ being soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of this kingdom. The reputation with which he filled that seat of judicature could only be equalled by that with which he afterwards “ discharged the office of Lord High Chancellor, when called “ to it on the decease of Lord Talbot, in February, 1736-7. And “ it

“ it is no small evidence of the acknowledged abilities and integrity with which he presided in the Court of Chancery, that, during the space of twenty years, in which he sat there, only three of his decrees were appealed from, and those afterwards confirmed by the House of Lords. After he had executed that high office, many years, he was, in April, 1754, advanced by his late Majesty, as a mark of his royal approbation of his Lordship's long and eminent services, to the rank of an Earl of Great Britain. His resignation of the Great-seal, in November, 1756, gave an universal concern to the nation, however divided at that time in other respects; but he still continued to serve the public in a more private station, with an unimpaired vigour of mind, which he enjoyed even under a long and severe indisposition till his latest moments.

“ His talents as a speaker, in the senate, as well as on the bench, have left too strong an impression, to need being dilated upon; and those of a writer were such as might be expected from one who had early distinguished himself in that character in the Spectator.

“ His private virtues, amiableness of manners, and extent and variety of knowledge, were as much esteemed and admired by those who had the honour and happiness of his acquaintance, as his superior abilities were by the nation in general. In his public character wisdom, experience, probity, temper, candour,

“ and moderation, were so happily united, that his death, in the
“ present situation of affairs, is a loss to his country, as unsea-
“ sonable as it is important.”

I might add to this account of the close of his life and summary of his character, some strictures, published about the same time, by a very respectable author, who stiled himself, *The Father of Candour*, in a very ingenious and learned tract, entitled, *A Letter, concerning Libels, Warrants, and Seizures of Papers*; which contain charges, tending to depreciate the acknowledged merits and high reputation of the Earl of Hardwicke. But these I forbear to exhibit till I may be furnished, as I hope to be, with materials for refuting such charges, that the antidote may attend the poison of malignity, and that I may be able to represent the good qualities of this truly great man without impurity or alloy.



C O P Y
OF A
L E T T E R,
FROM
JEREMIAH BENTHAM, Esq.
TO
Mr. RICHARD COOKSEY.

Life and Character
OF
PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.

COPY

OF A

LETTER

FROM

BERNARD BENTHAM ESQ

TO

MR. RICHARD COOKSEY.

Life and Character

OF

PHILIP EARL OF HARDWICKE.

(L E T T E R .)

To RICHARD COOKSEY, Esq.

W O R C E S T E R S H I R E .

S I R,

BIOGRAPHY in general affords so much instruction and entertainment, where the subjects are of sufficient importance to lay claim to the public notice and regard, that I cannot help looking upon it to be incumbent upon every one to contribute his mite, who has it at all in his power, towards enabling an author, that is induced to engage in such a purpose, to render his work as complete as possible. Chance having therefore lead me to cast my eye, while I was at Cheltenham, upon an advertisement in the Gloucester Journal, of the 15th instant; wherein you announce an intention of publishing an Essay on the Life and Character of that great lawyer, the late Earl of Hardwicke, whose inflexible integrity and eminent abilities gave a lustre so many years to the courts of law and equity, wherein he practised at the bar, and afterwards presided in Westminster hall; and there being now but very few living, who had any relation to these courts, that are capable

capable of tracing the personal knowledge and remembrance of him, so far back as myself, I flatter myself it may possibly not be unacceptable to you, to be made acquainted with a few anecdotes relative to the late Earl of Hardwicke, which may not have come to your knowledge from any other quarter; and which is my only inducement for furnishing you with the following particulars.

Mr. Philip Yorke was the son (and I believe the only son) of an eminent attorney, at Dover, in Kent, who, after giving him a proper education, and intending him for the Bar, very judiciously placed him with a Mr. Salkeld, a law-agent, in the Temple; at that time a man of the first character for abilities and business of any in his profession; and not with Sergeant Salkeld, as misrepresented in the *Biographica Britannica*. And it is no less true, than it was an extraordinary circumstance, that this Mr. Salkeld had, in his office, nearly about the same time, for the like purpose, Mr. Jocelyn, Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Mr. Parker, who was afterwards Sir Thomas Parker, and lived to be many years Lord Chief Baron of the court of Exchequer; as also Mr. John Strange, afterwards Sir John Strange, who died Master of the Rolls.

Mr. Yorke, by his uncommon assiduity and attention made himself thoroughly acquainted with the grounds and principles of the common law; and having been entered a student in the Temple, he regularly attended the Court of King's Bench, for the purpose of being called to the Bar, and in order thereto, it being necessary for him to keep commons, by dining in the Temple-hall,

hall, he had the good fortune, by that means, to become acquainted with Mr. Parker, the son of Lord Macclesfield, then Chief-Justice, who was at that time a student also at the Temple; such an acquaintance soon proved a very favourable circumstance to Mr. Yorke; for, upon the Chief-Justice asking his son, Mr. Parker, whether he had made any and what acquaintance among the young men of his own standing, Mr. Parker took occasion to tell his father, that he had contracted an intimacy with Mr. Philip Yorke, whom he represented to his father to be not only a very agreeable companion, but a very intelligent young man; upon which the Chief-Justice, being naturally pleased with his son's having made so good a choice of a companion, told him, he should be glad to see Mr. Yorke, and to bring him to dine with him; which Mr. Parker soon afterwards did. So fortunate an introduction, as well may be imagined, soon enabled a young man of Mr. Yorke's prudence and abilities to recommend himself to the esteem and regard, and consequently to the friendship, of Lord Macclesfield, which continued without interruption so long as his Lordship lived; who took every occasion that offered to distinguish Mr. Yorke as his particular favourite, as well when he presided in the Court of King's Bench, as afterwards in the Court of Chancery, when he became Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain; and when Lord Macclesfield was so unfortunate as to be impeached by the House of Commons, on account of some misdemeanor in the execution of his office, Mr. Yorke, who was at that time Attorney General, and knighted, was so sensible of his obligations to his Lordship, that he got himself excused, though not without some difficulty, from

from being appointed one of the managers, for carrying on the prosecution, in consequence of the impeachment.

Mr. Yorke, by means of his own merit, and the countenance he was known to have from the court, made so rapid a progress in his profession, that he had soon as much business as he could well go through with; which gave occasion to Judge Powis to make him a compliment, that in the manner it was made, terminated more to Mr. Yorke's credit, as a young man of ready wit, than to the Judge's good sense. The affair was this — Mr. Justice Powis, who had been trying causes at some one of the assizes, in the circuit he went, being at dinner, and several of the counsel with him, amongst whom was Mr. Yorke, took occasion to make Mr. Yorke some compliment, by telling him, he could not but be greatly surprized at his having acquired so great a share of business for so young a man; and said to him, "Mr. Yorke, I cannot well account for your having so much business, considering how short a time you have been at the Bar; I humbly conceive" (continued the Judge) "you must have published some book, or are about publishing something; for look you, do you see, there is scarcely a cause before the court but you are employed in it, on one side or other; I should therefore be glad to know, Mr. Yorke, whether this is the case." Such a curious way of accounting for Mr. Yorke's run of business could not but force a smile from him; and it determined him to make the Judge such a reply as might put an end to so fulsome a compliment; he therefore told the Judge, he had indeed some thoughts of publishing a book,

book, but that he had made no progress in it as yet; at which, the Judge pleasing himself for having made so happy a discovery, became importunate with Mr. Yorke to let him know the subject of this book; which put him upon telling the Judge, that he had thoughts of publishing Cook upon Littleton in verse; but that he had gone but a very little way in it; this however tickled the Judge's curiosity still more; and telling Mr. Yorke, that it was something so new, and must be so entertaining, he begged him to oblige him with the recital of a few of the verses; when Mr. Yorke, finding the Judge would not drop the subject, bethought himself he could not get rid of it better than by giving, by way of a specimen, something in the Judge's own words, and introducing the phrases he himself was in the habit of making use of upon all occasions, let the subject be what it would. Therefore, accompanying what he intended to say, with some excuses for complying with the Judge's request, Mr. Yorke began with reciting, as he pretended, the following verses; viz.

" He that holdeth his lands in fee,

" Need neither to quake nor to shiver;

" I humbly conceive, for look, do you see,

" They are his and his heirs for ever."

Such a specimen as this, it may easily be conceived, was enough to satisfy the Judge; but however that might be, the rest of the company could not but be under some difficulty to refrain from laughter: and it serves at least to prove, that Mr. Yorke had a ready wit, and a good deal of pleasantry about him.

It was Powis's misfortune to be so addicted to blunders, that the late Duke of Wharton, who was the brightest genius perhaps of the age wherein he lived, though unhappily for himself and his country, he was at the same time the most profligate of mankind, took occasion to introduce Judge Powis into a lampoon; wherein the Duke was very severe on several of the Judges of that time: He was however not wanting in doing justice to the character of such of them as were deserving.

I have not the poem by me, nor can I pretend to remember the whole of it, it being now above forty years since I read or have seen any thing of it; but some of the verses are still fresh in my memory, and particularly what related to Judge Powis, with regard to whom the Duke says:

“ When Powis fums up a cause without a blunder,
 “ And honest Price shall trim and truckle under;
 “ When Eyre his haughtiness shall lay aside,
 “ And Tracey's gen'rous soul shall swell with pride;

— — — — —

And, as I remember, the Duke concluded the whole of his poem with the following couplet:

“ Then will I cease my charmer to adore,
 “ And think of love and politics no more.”

Mr. Yorke, as he was possessed of great convivial pleasantry, to relieve himself under the pressure of business in his profession, and
 his

his engagements in public affairs, even when he became Sir Philip Yorke, and his Majesty's Attorney General, would sometimes enjoy himself in the company of men of genius, like himself; and once, upon his dining with Mr. Taylor, (commonly called Joe Taylor of Bridewell, then member of parliament for the borough of Petersfield, in Hampshire) at his house at Stanmore, in Middlesex, where Lord Bolingbroke made one of the company, his Lordship took occasion jocularly to ask Sir Philip Yorke, whether he was never a rake in his younger days. Sir Philip's reply was, that he must confess he never was a rake, for that indeed he was so early immersed in business, that he never had any time to be one; upon which Lord Bolingbroke expressed himself to be not a little pleased with the reason Sir Philip had given him; for, said his Lordship, he was persuaded no one could ever distinguish himself, and make his way in life in the manner Sir Philip had done, unless he had been a rake, or at least had the seeds of a rake in him. Such a compliment as this, however Lord Bolingbroke might apply it to Sir Philip Yorke, yet the rest of the company present could not but understand it with a view of making a still greater compliment upon himself, as shining abilities and rakery were so conspicuously united in Lord Bolingbroke's own character. This account of the conversation that passed between him and the late Lord Hardwicke I had from Mr. Taylor himself, at whose house, and in whose company it happened.

At the time Sir Philip Yorke was Attorney General, Mr. Talbot was Solicitor General, and Lord King was Lord Chancellor, who

had been advanced to that high office, from being Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and had distinguished himself for having been not only a very able common lawyer, but also a good divine; he became however so far advanced in years, when he held the Seals, as Chancellor, that he often dozed over his causes when upon the Bench; a circumstance which I myself well remember was the case; but it was no prejudice to the suitors; for Sir Philip Yorke and Mr. Talbot were both men of such good principles and strict integrity, and had always so good an understanding with one another, that although they were frequently and almost always concerned for opposite parties in the same cause, yet the merits of the cause were no sooner fully stated to the court but they were sensible on which side the right lay; and accordingly the one or the other of those two great men took occasion to state the matter briefly to his Lordship, and instruct the Register in what manner to minute the heads of the decree, so as that strict justice might be done; and so great was the friendship subsisting between them, that when it happened that the place of Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench became vacant, by the death of Lord Raymond, and likewise that of Lord Chancellor by the death of Lord King, although Sir Philip Yorke, then Attorney General, was considered as such to be entitled to the Seals, in preference to Mr. Talbot; yet, the latter having confined himself very early to the practice of the court of Chancery, and not having been much conversant in the practice of the courts of common law, he thought himself not sufficiently qualified to preside in the court of King's Bench, on which

which account, Sir Philip Yorke being equally competent to preside either in that court or the court of Chancery, it was agreed between them, that Sir Philip should wave his pretensions in favour of Mr. Talbot; and the King and the Ministry so well approved of it, that it was settled among them, that Sir Philip Yorke should have the place of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and should have two thousand pounds a year added to his salary, as Chief Justice; which however Sir Philip, to his honour, refused to accept, without its being made permanent to the office of Chief Justice of that court, by being secured to his successors; and upon these terms the Seals were delivered to Mr. Talbot. In consequence of which Sir Philip Yorke was created Lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Talbot Lord Talbot.

Lord Talbot enjoying his high office but a very few years, which he held with the highest reputation till his death, occasioned by a polypus at his heart, all men's eyes were immediately turned towards Lord Hardwicke, as his successor; to whom the King thereupon delivered the Seals; and to do the greater honour to his Lordship, Sir Robert Walpole, then prime Minister, the then Lord President of the Council, and several others of the greatest officers of the state attended him into the court of Chancery, while he took his oath of office and his seat therein; and I well remember being present in Westminster-hall upon that day, and seeing his Lordship afterwards going out of the court of Chancery, from sitting as Chancellor, into the court of King's Bench, where he sat as Lord Chief Justice of that court, to give his opinion in a
cause

cause of some consequence, which had been argued before him there; so that it may very truly be said, that he presided on one and the same day in the two highest courts of law and equity in Westminster-hall.

Many years after he had the Seals, Lord Hardwicke was advanced to the dignity of Earl Hardwicke and Viscount Royston, and held them for near twenty years with the highest reputation to himself and benefit of his country; in all which time his strength and judgment, his great knowledge of the law, his evenness of temper, which was never known to be ruffled or discomposed; and his affability, condescension, and courtesy to all about him, gained him the love and admiration of every one that had occasion to attend the court wherein he presided.

At length, perceiving or imagining he perceived his faculties growing rather impaired, he thought proper to resign the Seals; and accordingly waited upon the King, and delivered them into his Majesty's own hands.

Upon which a droll circumstance happened the first time of his Lordship's going to court on a levee day, after having resigned the Seals, when advancing near the person of the King, and conversing familiarly with several of the Ministry about him, in the manner he had been accustomed to do; but appearing as a private gentleman, without his gown and the purse, the usual insignia that had accompanied him in his office of Chancellor, the King absolutely did

did not know him, and asked the Lord then in waiting who that gentleman was; upon which, being told it was the Earl of Hardwicke, his Majesty's late Chancellor, the King was quite surprized at his own want of recollection of one who had been in the habit of attending him near twenty years together, and immediately accosted his Lordship with a smile, and made him a very obliging apology upon the occasion; the observation of which was a matter of pleasantry to all the company then in the drawing-room.

As the late Lord Hardwicke married a daughter of Charles] Cocks, esq. of Worcestershire, which lady was a niece of Lord Somers, I presume it may be a circumstance that has given you occasion to connect what you have to write of the lives of those two great men with your intended History of that county; and being persuaded you are well acquainted with the several branches of the late Earl of Hardwicke's own family, I have said nothing relative to them, although, Sir Joseph Yorke, his third son, now Lord Dover, as well as the honourable Mr. John Yorke, another of his sons, I have the honour to be personally acquainted with; the former had been above thirty years resident Ambassador at the Hague, from the British Court to the States General; and under many critical occurrences, which, during so long a series, gave him frequent occasion to exercise his judgment, he always acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his sovereign, and for the benefit of his country. Of which his present Majesty was so sensible, that the honour of peerage, conferred on Sir Joseph Yorke, proceeded from the King's own mere motion, without the least solicitation

citation from any one whatever. A circumstance that greatly enhanced the value of it, as it could not but render it still more grateful to his Lordship to receive, in such a manner, so distinguished a mark of approbation and regard from a Prince, who has been ever known to take pleasure in rewarding those that have been peculiarly deserving of his royal favours.

If you shall think any of these particulars I have mentioned herein, worthy to be introduced into your intended publication, you will keep this letter, otherwise be pleased to return it to

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

BATH,
SEPT. 30, 1788.

Jeremiah Bentham.

P. S. I am at present at Bath, but my house is in Queen's Square Place, St. James's-Park, Westminster.

N O T E.

THE very sensible and respectable writer of this letter is still living, and although he is now in the eightieth year of his age, is remarkable for having all the faculties of his mind and body, together with his spirits, as little impaired by time as can well be imagined of any one, and which is in some measure imputable to the air and exercise he has the advantage of taking in St. James's park, where he has lived these five and twenty years in one house; which, together with several others, that form one side of his garden belonging to it, he purchased many years ago, and were formerly the estate of Milton the poet; one of which had a door into the park, and was the house wherein Milton himself resided, while he composed his immortal poem of *Paradise Lost*, as is mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Britanica*.



K

THE
W H O L E S O N N E T
OF
DUKE WHARTON,

OF WHICH MENTION IS MADE IN THIS LETTER, I HERE
GIVE ENTIRE.

W H E N York* to heaven shall lift one solemn eye,
And love his wife above adultery ;
When godliness to gain shall be preferr'd
By more than one of the right reverend herd ;
When Parker shall pronounce one right decree,
And Hungerford refuse his double fee ;
When Pratt with justice shall dispense the laws,
And King impartially decide a cause ;
When Tracey's gen'rous soul shall swell with pride,
And Eyre his haughtiness shall lay aside ;
When honest Price shall trim and truckle under,
And Powis sum a cause without a blunder ;
When Page one uncorrupted finger shows,
And Fortescue deserves another nose ;
Then shall I cease my charmer to adore,
And think of love and politics no more.

* Blackburne, archbishop of York.

C O P Y
OF A
L E T T E R,
FROM A
GENTLEMAN of the LAW,
TO
Mr. RICHARD COOKSEY.

Life and Character
OF
PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.

COPY

LETTER

GENTLEMAN of the LAW,

M. RICHARD COOKSEY.

Life and Character

PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.

(L E T T E R.)

To RICHARD COOKSEY, *Esq.*
W O R C E S T E R S H I R E.

S I R,

HAVING met with an advertisement, wherein you mention a design of giving an Essay on the Life of Philip Earl of Hardwicke, in your proposed History of Worcestershire, and inviting any information on that subject, I send you what occurs to the recollection of an old man of the law, who knew him well; of which you need not doubt the authenticity; and let me remind you of your duty as an historian:

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat;

Ne quid veri non audeat.

Be not therefore afraid of inserting the truths I shall from time to time send to you, as they shall occur to my recollection, and I find time to put them on paper; they will not, I profess, tend to flatter his Lordship's memory, or pay court to his illustrious descendants, but may be proper to be known and transmitted to posterity for
the

the purpose of forming a right judgment of the real character of the man you undertake to delineate and exhibit to the public. It is your duty to represent him as he really was, without the flattery and embellishment which the biographers of eminent men generally pay to their subject. A good painter is to draw a likeness of the original, though the features may be harsh and unpleasing.

He was born at Dover, in Kent, in the year 1696. That he was literally the founder of his family and fortunes redounds to his honour rather than his dispraise; and therefore it is no disparagement to relate what is the undoubted fact, that his father was an attorney of no great eminence or possessions, indeed reduced, at last to such indigence, as drove him to despair and suicide. Of this circumstance his son Charles (a man highly accomplished in mind and manners, and of feelings most exquisitely delicate) was once cruelly reminded by a witness in a Kentish cause. The father however was attentive to the well settling and providing for his family; having married his two daughters, one to Mr. Billingsley, a dissenting minister, brother to the printer; and another to Mr. Jones, who proving unfortunate in business, lived for many years, and at last died, in the King's Bench prison, he prevailed on his agent, Mr. Salkeld, of Brook-street, Holborn, to take his only son Philip as his clerk; though his mother, a rigid presbyterian, opposed it very much, and wished her son to be put apprentice to some *honest trade*, as she expressed it. This domestic distress, experienced and severely felt in his early years, narrowed his mind, and infected it with a love of money,

money, which was his constant bias and blemish through life; and of which he could not divest himself when possessed of near a million.

During his clerkship he applied himself to business with uncommon diligence, and gained the entire good will and esteem of his master; who, observing in him abilities and application that prognosticated his future eminence, entered him as a student in the Temple, and suffered him to dine in the hall during the terms. But his mistress, a notable woman, thinking she might take such liberties with a gratis-clerk, used frequently to send him from his business, on family errands, and to fetch in little necessaries from Covent-garden and other markets. This, when he became a favourite with his master, and entrusted with his business and cash, he thought an indignity, and got rid of it by a stratagem, which prevented complaints or expostulation. In his accounts with his master there frequently occurred coach-hire for roots of celery and turnips from Covent-garden, and a barrel of oysters from the fishmongers, &c. which Mr. Salkeld observing, and urging on his wife the impropriety and ill housewifery of such a practice, put an end to it.

Mr. Salkeld, who was very eminent in his profession, as an attorney, and much esteemed by Lord Chief Justice Parker, was one day asked by his Lordship, if he could recommend to him a young man, decent and intelligent, to serve as a sort of law tutor to his sons, and assist and direct them in their studies. He recommended this his clerk in the warmest terms, and he was immediately employed.

employed in that capacity; which he discharged so much to the satisfaction of the Chief Justice, that he soon became a favourite, and was distinguished by every private and public mark of his approbation and regard. Infomuch, that upon Mr. Yorke's being called to the bar, and Lord Parker Being made Chancellor and Earl of Macclesfield, his partiality to so young a pleader, and the particular attention paid to him, gave great offence to many of the old practitioners in that court. Sergeant Pengelly in particular was so disgusted at frequently hearing the Chancellor observe, that *what Mr. Yorke said had not been answered*, that he one day threw up his brief, and declared he would no more attend a court where he found *Mr. Yorke was not to be answered*. His resentment, joined with that of others in the same situation, brought upon the Chancellor that investigation of his private management and the abuses committed or connived at by him, in his appointment of the officers of his court, which terminated in his impeachment and conviction.

This extraordinary attention to his favourite, and especially when he was fetched from his first circuit, in the year 1719, and made Solicitor General, when he was scarce twenty-nine years of age, over the heads of many able and eminent counsel, was well near being as fatal to Mr. Yorke as his patron.

From the precedency annexed to that post, he was to take the lead, and conduct all the causes he was employed in. The suitors at first hesitated at committing themselves to so young and inexperienced an advocate; and he was, on that account, left out of
 most

most of the important causes then depending. But the prevalence of attornies, with whom he was as much a favourite as with the Chancellor, his own indefatigable industry and application, the gentleness of his manners, and insinuating complacency of his address, soon getting the better of those prejudices, he rapidly came into full business at the Bar; and the storm, raised by his premature promotion, fell wholly on his patron; of whose distress he seems to have stood a silent and unconcerned spectator, though then Attorney General, member of parliament, and Privy Counsellor; and his uncle, Sir Joseph Jekyl, was First Commissioner, with Sir Jeffery Gilbert and Sir Robert Raymond, to whom the Seals were committed on his resignation.

Willes, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, used often to relate a circumstance not much to the honour of Mr. Yorke in their younger days. They began their professional career about the same time, but pursued it in a course and with a termination directly opposite each other; the one always cool, collected, and sedate; the other impetuous, inconsiderate, and eager. Mr. Yorke never said or did a foolish thing; Willes, though with equal, if not superior parts, was for ever guilty of both. He was not however wanting in paying proper court to the head of the law at that time, and flattered himself that he stood fair in the opinion and favour of Lord Macclesfield. But on a sudden he perceived a total change in the countenance and conduct of that great man to him, and that he was treated on all occasions with evident marks of slight and displeasure. Willes was warm and pertinacious in his protestations

of never having deserved, in thought, word, or deed, the displeasure he lamented having incurred, and insisted on knowing the charge against him and his accusers. The latter the Chancellor peremptorily refused; but in compliance with his importunity as to the first, gave him a paper, containing the substance of a conversation, wherein Willes, in the gaiety of his heart, had treated the character and conduct of that great man with such pleasantry of ridicule, and allusions to gross circumstances and facts, as were indeed grounds for offence and resentment, and much the more, for that they were incontrovertibly true. This betraying what had past in unbent, unguarded, and private conversation, Willes put to the score of Mr. Yorke, who was one of the company, wherein he could not but recollect he had committed himself with so little caution; and was one source of the habits of ill will in which they lived during most of their time. Never was a more complete contrast of characters exhibited than that of those two contemporaries and law rivals, nor stronger proof of the superiority of prudence and temper over parts, and an enterprising activity of mind. Each had their fortunes to make by their profession: Willes, at setting out, had the advantage in paternal property, and a liberal education, having been fellow of All-Souls college, Oxford; yet, when arrived at the post of Attorney-General, though their practice had been nearly equally productive to both, Mr. Yorke was worth upwards of fifty thousand pounds; and the other, by South Sea losses and other projects, above ten thousand pounds in debt. When Lord Macclesfield's patronage ceased to be

be useful to Mr. Yorke, he cultivated and obtained that of the Duke of Newcastle, in its fullest extent, and preserved it through his life. This proved infinitely more beneficial to him, than the friendship of the Prince of Wales, Sir Robert Walpole, and Lord Granyville, by whom he was cordially beloved, did, to Willes. The ~~one~~ was never at any trouble or expence in his elections to parliament, the Duke constantly returning him for one or other of his boroughs, whilst Willes was frequently employed to harrafs the active members of the Minister, and give them opposition in their elections, at an expence not always repaid him. Thus, in the year 1734, Willes, then Attorney General, was sent to Worcester, to oppose Mr. Sandys, the plodding, pains-taking second of Mr. Pulteney; and to whom Sir Robert Walpole bore the most decided aversion; by this he was much money out of pocket, and it fixed on him the resentment of the party; whilst Lord Hardwicke, by every civility and private gratification, had so ingratiated himself with the opposers of Sir Robert, who always considered his fall from power, and the loss of his majority in the house of commons, in the year 1742, more owing to the secret practices of his pretended friends, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke (who were the only gainers in that change of ministry) than to the efforts of his enemies. The Chancellor retained, undiminished, and in full force, the powers of the law department; disposing of its honours and preferments, and prevented the creation of law lords, whereby his power in the house of Lords, he apprehended, might be diminished. The peerages of Lea, Rider, Willes, and even of Parker, Chief Baron, though acknowledged

due to their long services of the state, were delayed or denied. Thus he remained the sole law lord during the whole time of his Chancellorship, which makes a great drawback from the panegyric of his flatterers, that no decree of his was ever appealed from. It was evident, that to appeal from a decree of Lord Hardwicke to the house of Lords, was an appeal to himself. Indeed, his practice in the court of Chancery, for which he is applauded as having introduced a regular system, was such as precluded all pretences for appeals or complaint. His decrees were very few, in comparison to the many causes that came under discussion in that court, in his time. The hearings, re-hearings, references to masters, reports, and exceptions to those reports, exorbitant fees to counsel, and the length of time to which every cause was protracted, made the suitors weary, and glad to submit to any decree suggested and agreed upon by their counsel, in which neither party could complain of being aggrieved by the Judge of the court. In this plenitude of law power he continued till the year 1746, when the ministerial system of his Lordship and his friends, the Pelhams, met with a slight shock, and was nearly deranged, by an effort, made by the good old King, to deliver himself from a weak, selfish, and corrupt administration. His Majesty wished to put the reins of government into the hands of his able, spirited friend, Lord Granville, and appointed him Secretary of State. The time was ill chosen: a rebellion, formidable only by the weakness with which it had been at first opposed, was still unquelled. The good King's favourite son, absent in pursuit of the distant enemy, a total defection and abdication of all his other ministers and servants had not been foreseen

foreseen or apprehended at such a crisis, and for such a cause. The resignations began with Mr. Pelham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the whole Board of Treasury, and would have been followed the next day by that of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chancellor, and all the great officers of state. Even Winnington, the Paymaster, whom the King and Lord Granville personally loved, came to resign; so prevalent and invincible did this combination appear to him, that he said, "the only way to keep his place, he saw, was to give it up." Every one knows the confusion and danger that must have attended this measure was prevented only by the magnanimity of Lord Granville, who insisted on the King's submitting, and renouncing his appointment. This event proved fortunate only to a Doctor Birch, who ought to have been preferred by the Chancellor long before. A more amiable, worthy, and mended often and most earnestly to the Chancellor by his sons, with and indefatigable man in the literary world never existed. *Recom- mended often & earnestly to the Chancellor by his sons, with* whom he lived in habits of the most perfect friendship, and whom he had insulted by the offer of a preferment in Wales of thirty pounds a year. This good man he sent to on the day he was about to resign, and gave him the living of St. Margaret Pattens, Fenchurch-street, then fortunately vacant. But for this circumstance the good Doctor might have much longer remained unprovided for, as his Lordship, in the disposal of church preferments, had chiefly in view the strengthening and extending his attachments, by obliging the great men who applied to him for them. Few were conferred as rewards of learning or merit during the whole time of his being Chancellor. He even made a merit of providing
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for his own and his lady's relations with a very sparing hand, pretending to have laid down a rule, never to give more than one living to one person. Even his brother-in-law, Billingsley, lived and died upon the rectory of - - - - in Oxfordshire, from which he derived little more emolument than he received before from the dissenting congregation, at Dover, of which he was minister. He indeed conferred two preferments, the vicarage of St. Martin and the prebendary of Rochester, on a most amiable and worthy divine; whose character is so justly and elegantly expressed in the inscription, on a monument, erected to his memory, in the abbey-church, at Bath, that I cannot refrain transmitting you a copy of it.

On a black Marble Monument, with white Tablet.

To the memory of ERASMUS SAUNDERS, D.D. vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields and prebendary of the cathedral church of Rochester. His life was an example of the most extensive benevolence, joined to the practice of every religious and social duty: his death a lesson of that composure and resignation, which the hope of immortality, grounded on a well spent life, could alone inspire. He died, December 29, 1775, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

If gentlest manners, sweet good-natur'd ease,
 If placid virtue, with strong sense, can please;
 Here, reader, pause, nor check the swelling sigh,
 Nor stop the tear, which bursting to the eye,
 Will mourn with me, they were not longer giv'n,
 To bless the earth, and seek a later heav'n.

But

But I must observe to you, that these emanations of his Lordship's favour were not conferred on the good Doctor from any attention to the amiable qualities justly ascribed to him in this epitaph. The truth is, that a canonry of Windsor, which he had obtained, by the favour of the Duke of Marlborough, being thought a more eligible and proper situation for Mr. James Yorke, who had lately entered into holy orders, and whose name I mention with reverence and respect, than the much more lucrative living of St. Martin's, then vacant, the Doctor was prevailed upon to make the exchange, and thereby forfeited the favour, and lost the patronage, of that noble family; which ever after embittered, and indeed shortened the life of a man, who, but for this false step, might have been advanced to the highest station of the church; to which his successor in that patronage, at present does honour. Another very worthy and learned divine, to whom, in 1738, he gave the living of St. George, Southwark, from motives which did him honour, having declined the proffer of marrying a Mrs. Jones, his Lordship's own sister, whose husband died in the King's Bench prison about that time; and who, by a constant attendance on him, had acquired habits which rendered her not a proper consort for a clergyman, could never obtain any farther preferment from his Lordship, though what he gave him amounted not to the value of the fellowship of Merton College, which he quitted on the prospect of such a promising patronage. Except in these instances, scarce one of the many livings and preferments in his disposal appear to have been given either in reward of merit, or from private or personal favour. They were made to serve his great view of extending

tending his influence and ingratiating himself with the powerful families of the party he was connected with, and who divided the right they assumed of recommendation to church preferments into cantonments of the counties they possessed, and wished to preside over and govern. By this management, and the most insinuating arts of address, and command of temper, which he possessed in the highest degree, his influence and weight in both houses of parliament was immense, and far beyond what was ever before enjoyed by any man in his station, or in this country. Firmly united with the Pelhams, who, after Sir Robert Walpole's giving up the Treasury, had, by an union with the leaders of the pretended patriots of those days, obtained a clear and decisive superiority in parliament, Lord Hardwicke, from being an excellent and attentive Chancellor, became, unhappily for his country, a politician and a first-rate Minister in the succeeding arrangements. The event of 1746 had given that administration a complete command over their Sovereign; and the depravity and corruption that prevailed in the succeeding parliaments secured them from any control on that side; so that for many years after the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754, the whole power of the state centered in the Duke of Newcastle, and his friend and director, Lord Hardwicke, without whose advice and participation that Duke never made the least movement. Under their auspices were made the several alterations and arrangements of Ministry, in 1755 and 6. In those, places and pensions were distributed so liberally as to preclude almost any shadow of opposition, in either house of parliament, to any measures Government thought proper to adopt. But these measures proved

proved so weak, pusillanimous, and disgraceful, as at length to rouse a spirit of resentment and indignation in the people at large. This alarmed the fears and apprehensions of Lord Hardwicke, of which his nature was very susceptible, and to which the great responsibility in which he and his connexions, particularly Lord Anson, his son-in-law, stood; to whom the loss of Minorca was generally imputed, gave sufficient foundation. Dreading the loud cry of the people for impeachments and enquiries into the authors of those councils, which had brought the nation into such a calamitous and desperate situation, he wisely shrunk from the storm he thought he saw bursting on his head; and in 1756 resigned the Seals, as did Lord Anson his office of first commissioner of the Admiralty. The Duke of Newcastle also quitted the Treasury, so that for some time the kingdom was left without an administration at all. But leaving to writers of the general history of those times a description of the deplorable state to which the country was then reduced, you will confine yourself to the parts in which Lord Hardwicke stood conspicuous. The marriage-act, whatever praise or dispraise is annexed to it, was exclusively his own. The bill for general naturalization of the Jews, enacted in one session, and the repeal of it in the next, was a measure congenial to his principles and pusillanimity. These unpopular acts, his unremitted opposition to every plan for establishing a national militia, and the fetching a foreign force, to protect the country from an invasion, which he timorously expected and dreaded, had made him obnoxious above any other member of administration to the people at large, though

his power and influence in a house of commons, debased by the grossest corruption, and lost to all national and manly spirit, remained in its full force. By a happy coalition, which took place in 1757, wherein he and his colleague, the Duke of Newcastle, furnished their prostitute majority to the friends and favourites of the people, who ensured them safety and indemnity; the threatened enquiries and cries for punishment of the delinquents were baffled and eluded, and the noble Duke and Lord Hardwicke again formed an arrangement of ministry perfectly to their own satisfaction and that of the public. In this transaction let me inform you of a manouvre of his Lordship, in his department of disposer of law dignities, in which he gratified the malignity he had ever borne to Willes, by a stroke decisive on his family and fortune. The latter, who had been appointed first commissioner of the Seals, during the short abeyance of administration, and was considered and looked up to in the common course of such events as the undoubted successor to the office of Chancellor, thought he had disarmed the effects of antient bickerings, by settling all the distribution of offices and emoluments of the court on Lord Hardwicke's resignation, to the entire satisfaction of his Lordship. Philip Cartaret Webb, whom he recommended even with tears to his successors, was gratified to his utmost wish; and the kindest countenance of the court, promised and expressed to his son Charles, then young at the Bar. So far were matters settled, that a peerage, pension, and tellerhip of the Exchequer were agreed, as of course, to attend the appointment. What a blow did Willes feel when these

these demands, as they were called, having been represented to their sovereign as unreasonable and improper to be granted, occasioned an enquiry whom else these negotiators of preferment had to recommend. They immediately named Mr. Henley, who indeed did honour to the nomination; and to the surprise of the world, and even of himself, he was nominated Keeper, as a man who *stipulated* for no conditions or emoluments, which are sure to follow the appointment, as they did in this case. So much for Willes, who died soon after with a heart broken by the many mortifications and disappointments which the arts of his successful rival and his own want of discretion through life had heaped upon him.

The events of this year, 1757, in which the national honour and vigour was sunk to the lowest pitch, and when popular resentment against the weak and corrupt administration, to which they attributed the disgraces and losses sustained in the Mediterranean and America, had well nigh proved fatal to the fortunes of Lord Hardwicke and his son in law Lord Anson, displayed the wise and politic conduct of the former in its greatest lustre, and raised his power and influence to an height beyond what they ever reached before or after that period. The good King, accustomed to submit implicitly (after some impotent struggles for employing in his service the men he loved and lived with) to the dictates of the Duke of Newcastle, who was as implicitly directed by Lord Hardwicke, was induced by them to admit the favourites of the people, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, into the cabinet, and commit to them the absolute management of the war and foreign affairs.

The nation at once, by a sort of inherent elasticity, recovered from the despondency into which it was sunk, and displayed a spirit that, rebounding, rose higher from its fall. All opposition in parliament ceased, and a perfect unanimity prevailed through the kingdom. The new leaders brought with them the support and countenance of all good men and real friends to their country; and disdaining the traffic of jobs, or soliciting places and pensions for their adherents, left that field open to the old practitioners in those arts, who were in possession of that corrupt majority, now so happily applied. The whole subordinate arrangement of ministry in that year was made by Lord Hardwicke, whereby his ambition, as well as his resentments, were fully gratified. Lord Anson being restored to the head of the Admiralty, the offence, given by Mr. Sandys having been one of the Board that had succeeded him, was punished on the father. Lord Sandys, pleased with the distinction of being Speaker of the house of Lords, with a large salary, was displaced without the least previous notice or compliment, and having made himself necessitous by the expence of constant oppositions, whilst a commoner, with which Sir Robert Walpole treated him, as the motion maker of Mr. Pulteney, and by joining with him in a considerable loan to the deceased Prince of Wales, wholly lost by his death, was compelled to submit to accept a pension from the Crown, by constantly declaring against the granting and accepting of which, he had obtained all his popularity. His entreaties to avoid this disgrace, as he thought it, and that it might be covered by any nominal place of business, as chief-justice

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in eyre, chairman of committees, or the like, as it had been for some time, were ineffectual. He then begged the grant might specify its being made in reward for services performed, and payable at the Exchequer, not by Lord Gage, then pay-master of the pensions. This was granted him; and he was told, he might draw up the preamble of his patent himself; which he did; and preferred being paid at the Exchequer, subject to the taxes, rather than as a pensioner, which would have been exempt from them. In vain did Lord Sandys plead, that it was the absolute act of private friendship in Lord Winchelsea, who insisted on his son's being one of his Board; — the offence was never forgiven, and that courtly connection, which had so long subsisted between them to their mutual advantage and reciprocal benefit was wholly put an end to; and the pretended and once popular patriot sunk into the degraded pensioner of the Crown.

Another large and liberal pension was also bestowed at this time on Mr. Mallock or Mallet, a Scotchman of no great respectability as a writer or a man. He was employed by Lord Hardwicke, when the nation was exasperated, by the ill success of the beginning of the war, to turn the public resentment and vengeance upon Byng; which he attempted to do in an accusation and severe invective against that Admiral, under the style and character of a *Plain Man*; a pamphlet dispersed and circulated throughout the nation with great industry and some success. For this seasonable intervention and service he had bestowed on him an annual stipend, which he retained to his death. But if this be urged as an instance
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of his Lordship's benevolence to men of genius, and patronage of literary merit, let it be recollected, that the same man, on his succeeding Talbot, as Lord Chancellor, deprived Thomson, a poet and patriot of the first class, of the place of Secretary of Briefs, which had been given him by his predecessor, and was the poor poet's only subsistence and support. The indigence and distress to which he was hereby reduced was happily relieved some years after, by his friend, Lord Lyttleton, when he came into power.

Many other instances of the plenitude of power possessed by Lord Hardwicke at this time I could enumerate to you, but will confine myself to one, involving an important transaction relative to his private and family concerns, and perhaps accounting for a public one not suspected, or in the least comprehended at that time or since. To elucidate which I must enter rather minutely into his domestic affairs and connexions. A Mr. James Cocks, (the brother of his excellent lady) was the heir and successor of the great Lord Somers, and possessed estates and acquisitions to a much greater amount, from his father, who married the sister of that Lord, than from Lord Somers himself. He indeed made scarce any addition to his paternal estate (avarice, as Swift acknowledges, he had none) beyond the grants forced upon him by King William, of certain fee-farm rents and the manor of Rygate, in Surry. The value of the latter consisted chiefly in the influence annexed to it, on the election of two members, which that borough returns to parliament; both of whom, after the decline of Alderman Parsons's interest there, were uniformly nominated by this family, no other

other individual possessing property in the borough of weight sufficient to warrant any competition against the burgage tenures and manerial rights they were in possession of. Mr. James Cocks, who was always one of the members, was a plain, honest, unambitious country gentleman; and by a second marriage (the issue of his first, the sole heir of the Bradford estate, being dead) with the only daughter of Lord Berkeley of Stretton, had a son, born in 1737; at this time a youth of the finest and most promising parts and amiable accomplishments, much carested in the family of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the playfellow of his children about the same age. His present Majesty (if his memory fail him not) may recollect the friend and favourite of his youth, his every evening almost being spent in play and boyish amusements at Leicester-house. The Prince, who had a peculiar antipathy to the Chancellor, had given this youth unfavourable impressions of his uncle, and alarmed him with suspicions of clandestine attempts to undermine his interest in this borough, and establish a claim to a joint weight in the election of its representatives; of which one of his sons had usually, from their near relationship to the proprietor, been complimented with the nomination. Discovering on enquiry, as he thought, some grounds for such suspicions, and having roused his father, always extremely indolent and inattentive to business, into an alarm for the danger that threatened this his favourite property, he prevailed on him to throw into the fire a will he had made, whereby he had left the guardianship of this his son, and the management of his affairs, during his minority,

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to Lord Hardwicke, and to make another, delegating that trust to a young Worcestershire nobleman, of consummate honour and bright abilities, in conjunction with his own brother, a very honest, but unbred, country gentleman, with a large family of children; and though very rich, penurious and covetous in the extreme. The father died soon after making this disposition of his affairs; and, on the will being produced, though bearing every internal and formal evidence of the sanity of the testator, it was controverted by Lord Hardwicke; and, contrary to all his habitual prudence, the persuasions of his own family, and the advice of the ablest civilians of the times, Dr. Lee and Hay, he instituted a suit in the Commons, wherein he endeavoured to prove his brother in law an idiot, and incapable of making a will. This irritated his son beyond all bounds, and though the worthy Judge of the court, Dr. Bettesworth, rejected all such allegations with due indignation, and confirmed a will, which itself proved the sanity of the testator, yet did the attempt sink deep in the mind of the young man, and gave him the most poignant inveteracy against this his uncle. He was now, in the year 1758, within a few months of being of age. Possessed of youthful ardour, and an active spirit, he had taken a military turn; to which he was encouraged by his two uncles, who now acted in concert, with respect to his education and the management of his concerns. Mr. John Cocks having, in the arrangement then made, been gratified with douceurs to himself, and preferments and employments for seven of his sons, by which they were all amply provided for, gratitude

completely

completely bound him to make due returns to his benefactor. The young gentleman had been sent to make a campaign, as volunteer in the army of the King of Prussia during the most active operations of the German war. From thence returning safe, he was incited, by the persuasions of a young friend, the nephew of a respectable clergyman, of the name of Wells, under whose care he had been educated with the greatest privacy at his living of Remnan, near Henley-upon-Thames, to embark in the expeditions then carrying on for invading the French coasts; a measure planned and adopted by Mr. Pitt, merely to expose and degrade the idle panic of preceding ministers, who had frightened themselves and the nation with an apprehension that a few flat-bottomed boats, and landing an enemy on our coasts, would be decisive of the fate and general ruin of the country. This paltry apprehension had been the source of all the disgraces and losses of the former year in the Mediterranean and America, by keeping at home the fleet and force which foreign services required. This end of Mr. Pitt's was fully answered, and the public spirit revived and set at right by the public display of our national strength, and the alarms given the enemy by the attack of St. Maloe's and Cherbourg. Both he and the nation revolted against continuing such a futile and maroding plan of operations; of which the success, supposing it the highest, could never balance the expence of the expedition. This to St. Lunaire-bay was universally decried. No military officer of name or eminence could be prevailed on to accept the command of the forces, which seemed destined to destruction, and

poor General Bligh lamented most emphatically his having been decoyed into that service, when fetched from Ireland without previous notice or instructions. Alarmed as the French had been, he foresaw they would be prepared, and foretold the fatal event of the attempt. "These expeditions," says he, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, exculpating his conduct, "are to be considered as *attempts*; "and troops, sent on such a service, as a *forlorn detachment*, the whole of which may perish at a particular time with propriety, "and to the satisfaction of every good man, as putting things at "the worst, the State incurs no danger;" and, as a true military man comforts himself, that in the engagement of the rear-guard, at St. Cas, the number of the killed and wounded of the enemy was by far greater than our's. Upon this service was this youth, of such high expectations, sent in company with his friend Wells; not as a volunteer; as such he might have retreated in the first boat attending the embarkation; but dignified with the commission of *ensign of a company of the Grenadiers* in the Guards allotted for this service; whereby he had the post of honour consigned him, of being the first to land upon, and the last to quit the enemy's coasts. No doubt, according to General Bligh's idea, every good man, and the noble Lord himself, who had kindly procured him that commission, felt a satisfaction when the Gazette announced the following short list of the killed in that unfortunate and most ill conducted action at St. Cas.

OFFICERS.

OFFICERS KILLED.

GUARDS --- { Major General Drury.
Captain Walker.
ENSIGN COCKS.

MANNERS'S { Lieutenant Mose,
Lieutenant Wells.

And only six others.

And it occurred to few, that by the death of *Ensign Cocks* the property of a borough, returning two members of the British parliament, a personal estate of one hundred thousand pounds, and a real one of eight or ten thousand pounds a year, was transferred to his worthy relations. What part Lord Hardwicke had in this transaction I pretend not to determine, but cannot help observing, that at this æra, sheltered and protected by the impenetrable shield of Pitt's popularity, he was in the zenith of his political power. Under that shield he dealt out, in full force, the darts of his resentments and private favour, and directed the whole artillery of ministerial influence, in bestowing subordinate places and pensions, by which one good end was obtained, the suppression of all parliamentary opposition, and an absolute acquiescence in the measures adopted by that truly great man. I think also, that in the instructions to poor Bligh, the pen and style of a chancery draftsman is very discernible, and that in reality no other success did accrue, or was hoped for from this enterprise than the getting rid of this ill-fated young man, who was so near entering life in so brilliant

a style, with such eclat and power as his fortune and connexions would have given him, full of resentment against a relation, by whom he was so justly provoked, and high in personal favour with his future sovereign. This I venture to affirm is the only clue by which the seeming absurdities that occurred in the conduct of that retreat, the night march by beat of drum, and other mismanagement, taken notice of by Smollet and every historian of the time, can be solved or accounted for. This fulness of power, as a subordinate minister, and the dispenser of douceurs, requisite for gaining and managing majorities, in which he and his friend, the Duke of Newcastle were signally dextrous, he retained, till a new King and enterprizing favourite broke through the shackles in which the good old George the Second had been so long held. Lord Hardwicke had no share in the merits or dishonour of the peace which soon followed the demise of the Crown, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. His political career closed with a transaction quite in his own style of arranging a ministry; the ridiculous event of which, and his disappointment in not obtaining the post of President of the council, on which he had long set his heart, chagrined him so much as perhaps shortened his life, which he quitted the year after. The account given by himself of this extraordinary transaction, in a letter to his son Lord Royston, deposited in the British Museum, among Dr. Birch's papers, is so expressive of his genius and character, that his historian ought to give it at large. To save you the trouble of applying for it at the Museum, and directing you to No. 4325, of Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue,

Catalogue, where the original may be found, I have transcribed, and sent it you.

*LETTER from the Earl of HARDWICKE
to his Son Lord Viscount ROYSTON.*

WIMPLE, SEPT. 4. 1763.

MY DEAR LORD,

I Have heard the whole from the Duke of Newcastle; and on Friday morning, de source, from Mr. Pitt. But if I was to attempt to relate in writing all that I have heard in two conversations of two hours each, *the dotterells and wheat-ears would sink* before I could finish my letter. Besides, it is as strange as it is long, for I believe it is the most extraordinary transaction that ever happened in any court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the present.

I will begin, as the affair has gone on, preposterously, by telling you, that it is all over for the present, and we are come back, *re infectâ*.

It began as to the substance, by a message from my Lord Bute to Mr. Pitt, at Hayes, through my Lord-Mayor, to give him the meeting privately at some third place. This his Lordship (Lord B.) afterwards altered by a note from himself, saying, that as he loved to do things openly, he would come to Mr. Pitt's house, in Jermyn-street, in broad day-light. They met accordingly, and Lord Bute, after the first compliments, frankly acknowledged that his ministry could not go on, and that the King was convinced of it; and therefore he (Lord B.) desired Mr. Pitt would open himself frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and persons with the utmost freedom.

freedom. After much excuse and hanging back, Mr. Pitt did so with the utmost freedom indeed, though with civility. Here I must leave a long blank, to be filled up when I see you. Lord Bute heard, with great attention and patience; entered into no defence; but at last said, "If these are your opinions, why should you not tell them to the King himself, who will not be unwilling to hear you?" — How can I presume to go to the King, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience? The presumption would be too great. — "But suppose his Majesty should order you to attend him, I presume, Sir, you would not refuse it." — The King's command would make it my duty, and I should certainly obey it.

This was on last Thursday sevensnight. — On the next day (Friday) Mr. Pitt received from the King an open note, unsealed, requiring him to attend his Majesty on Saturday noon, at the Queen's palace, in the park. In obedience hereto Mr. Pitt went on Saturday at noon-day, through the Mall, in his gouty chair, the boot of which (as he said himself) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Queen's palace. He was immediately carried into the closet, received very graciously; and his Majesty began in like manner as his quondam favourite had done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and persons at large, and with the utmost freedom; and I think, did in substance make the like confession, that he thought his present Ministers could not go on. The audience lasted three hours, and Mr. Pitt went through the whole upon both heads more fully than he had done to Lord Bute, but with great complaisance and douceur to the King; and his Majesty gave him a very gracious accueil, and heard him with great patience and attention. And Mr. Pitt affirms, that in general, and upon the most material points, he appeared by his manner and many expressions to be convinced. But here

I mu'

I must again avail myself of my long blank, and make only one general description; that Mr. Pitt went through the infirmities of the peace; the things necessary and hitherto neglected to improve and preserve it; the present state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; the great Whig families and persons which have been driven from his Majesty's council and service, which it would be for his interest to restore. In doing this he repeated many names; upon which his Majesty told him, there was pen, ink, and paper; and wished he would write them down. Mr. Pitt humbly excused himself, by saying, that would be too much for him to take upon him; and he might, upon his memory, omit some material persons, which might be subject to imputation. The King still said he liked to hear him, and bid him go on; but said, now and then, his honour must be consulted; to which Mr. Pitt answered in a very courtly manner. His Majesty ordered him to come again on Monday; which he did, to the same place, and in the same public manner.

Here comes in a parenthesis, that on Sunday Mr. Pitt went to Claremont, and acquainted the Duke of Newcastle with the whole, fully persuaded from the King's manner and behaviour that the thing would do; and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be settled. This produced the messages to the Lords, who were sent for. Mr. Pitt undertook to write to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Newcastle to myself.

But behold the catastrophe of Monday. The King received him equally graciously; and that audience lasted near two hours. The King began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honour. His Majesty then mentioned Lord Hallifax for the Treasury; still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. Pitt
hesitated

hesitated an objection — that certainly Lord Hallifax ought to be considered, but that he should nor have thought of him for the Treasury. — Suppose his Majesty should think fit to give him the Paymaster's place. The King replied, "But, Mr. Pitt, I had designed that for poor G. Grenville; he is your near relation, and you once loved him." To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait. "Why," says his Majesty, "should not Lord Temple have the Treasury; you could go on then very well." — Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs cannot possibly go on without a Treasury connected with him. But that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families, who have supported the Revolution government, and other great persons, of whose abilities and integrity the public has had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your Majesty, if I should leave you in an opinion, that I could go on, and your Majesty make a solid administration on any other foot. "Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) this will not do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it." *Et sic finita est fabula.* Vos valete, but I cannot with a safe conscience add, *plaudite.* I have made my skeleton larger than I intended at first, and I hope you will understand it. Mr. Pitt professes himself firmly persuaded that my Lord Bute was sincere at first, and that the King was in earnest the first day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, some strong effort was made, which produced the alteration.

Mr. Pitt likewise affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negotiation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole; but that if the King shall assign any particular reason for it, he will never contradict it.

My

My story has been so long, though in truth a very short abridgment, that I shall not lengthen it by observations, but leave you to make your own: It will certainly be given out, that the reason was the unreasonable extent of Mr. Pitt's plan — a general rout; and the minority, after having complained so much of proscriptions, have endeavoured to proscribe the majority. I asked Mr. Pitt the direct question; and he assured me, that although he thought himself obliged to name a great many persons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or six for particular places. I must tell you, that one of these was your humble servant for the President's place. This was entirely without my authority and privity. But the King's answer was, "Why, Mr. Pitt, it is vacant, and ready for him; and" he knows he may have it to-morrow, if he thinks fit."

I conjectured that this was said with regard to what had passed with poor Lord Egremont, which made me think it necessary to tell Mr. Pitt in general what had passed with that Lord (not owning that his Lordship had offered it directly in the King's name) and what I had answered, which he, in his way, much commended.

This obliges me to desire that you will send me by the bearer my letter to you, which you were to communicate to my Lord Lyttleton, that I may see how I have stated it there, for I have no copy.

I shall now *make you laugh*, though some parts of what goes before make me melancholy, to see the King so committed, and his Majesty submitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh, is, that the Ministers are so stung with this admission, that they cannot go on (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on) and with my Lord Bute's having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord Bute has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity;

dity; that they do not depend upon him; and will have nothing to do with him; and I have been credibly informed, that both Lord Hallifax and George Grenville have declared that he is to go beyond sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain cardinal was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as absolutely whilst he was absent as when he was present.

Your's, affectionately,

HARDWICKE.

You have here an authentic specimen of his Lordship's style and abilities as a prose writer, and I know of no other; for the letter in the Spectator, No. 364, signed "^{Shelley}Home-bred," said to be his, is of uncertain authority. He made one attempt in poetry, which I will transcribe for you; and with it conclude a letter, which has carried me to an unforeseen length; but less could not be said, when so great a man as Lord Hardwicke was to be considered as a lawyer, a politician, a prose-writer, and a poet.

V I R T U E and F A M E.

To the Countess of EGREMONT.

By LORD LYTTLETON.

VIRTUE and FAME the other day

Happen'd to cross each other's way;

Said Virtue! hark ye, Madam Fame,

Your Ladyship is much to blame;

Jove

Jove always bids you wait on me,
And yet your face I seldom see:
The Paphian queen employs your trumpet,
And bids it praise some handsome strumpet;
Or thund'ring through the ranks of war,
Ambition ties you to her car.

Saith Fame, dear madam, I protest
I never find myself so blest
A when I humbly wait behind you!
But 'tis so mighty hard to find you!
In such obscure retreats you lurk!
To seek you is an endless work.

Well, answer'd Virtue, I allow
Your plea. But hear, and mark,
I know, (without offence to others)
I know the best of wives and mothers;
Who never pass'd an useless day,
In scandal, gossiping, and play.
Whose modest wit, chastis'd by sense,
Is lively, cheerful innocence.
Whose heart not Envy knows or Spight;
Whose duty is her sole delight.
Nor rul'd by Whim, nor slave to Fashion.
Her parents' joy, her husband's passion.

Fame smil'd, and answer'd, on my life,
This is some country parson's wife,
Who never saw the court nor town,
Whose face is homely as her gown;

LETTER RELATIVE TO

Who banquets upon eggs and bacon —
 No, madam, no — you're much mistaken —
 I beg you'll let me set you right;
 'Tis one with ev'ry beauty bright;
 Adorn'd with ev'ry polish'd art
 That rank or fortune can impart:
 'Tis the most celebrated toast
 That Britain's spacious isle can boast;
 'Tis princely Petworth's noble dame;
 'Tis Egremont — go, tell it, Fame.

ADDITION, Extempore. By Earl Hardwicke.

Fame heard with pleasure — straight reply'd,
 First on my roll stands Windham's bride:
 My trumpet oft I've rais'd to sound
 Her modest praise the world around;
 But notes were wanting; can't thou find
 A muse to sing her face, her mind?
 Believe me, I can name but one,
 A friend of your's — 'tis Lyttleton.

P. S. On second thoughts the preceding account will be defective, unless you give some account of his person, and what the French call his petits morales, of which, from your youth you can know nothing but by information. He was one of the handsomest men of the age, and bestowed great attention to his appearance

pearance and dress. By this he attracted the approbation of his lady, the neice of Sir Joseph Jekyl, whom he occasionally met with at the Rolls; to whom he proved most properly and affectionately attached; nor was ever guilty of playing the fool (which was always his term for intriguing) with any other woman. The reports, circulated in those times, relative to Lady B—— and Mrs. Wells, I consider as idle tales, without the least foundation in truth. He was a perfect pattern of temperance and sobriety. His meals were not even convivial. After his dinner, which was generally late, he latterly dozed for some minutes, during which his lady kept up some degree of cheerful conversation. On recovering, and her retiring, a stiff and ceremonious talk took place, in which, to involve his son Heathcote, when he was of the party, he would observe, that Rutlandshire being the least county in England, his father, Sir Gilbert, was supposed to be in possession of one half of it; and if he goes on to accumulate, as he has done, bids fair to be the proprietor of a whole county, a point at which no man in England ever yet arrived. On this some sycophant would observe, that his Lordship might perhaps be charged with a similar view, in regard to the county of Cambridge; for though Wimple as yet bore no proportion to the whole, yet the title deeds of a full moiety of it might already be found there: — a smile. The stately and ceremonious reception of his visitors, on a Sunday evening, was insipid and disgusting in the highest degree. For the vanity displayed in the painted windows of the chapel at Wimple, his family offer in excuse that the several arms of

of the illustrious names, connected with the house of Yorke, were collected, blazoned, and presented to him by Mr. Prouse, member for the county of Somerset. Stranger as he was to the life and habits of country gentlemen, he treated them with insulting inattention and hauteur. Came they from never so great a distant part of the county, either to visit his Lordship, or see his place, their horses were sent for refreshment to the Tiger, a vile inn, near half a mile distant, as I have experienced more than once. He had no love for the country or peculiar taste for improvement. Wimple exhibited scenes magnificent and vast, without being pleasing to the eye. He submitted indeed, like other Lords, sometimes to entertain the *natives*, but with that visible and contemptuous superiority as disgusted rather than obliged them. When in high good humour he had two or three stock stories to *make his company laugh*, which they were prepared, and expected, to do. One was of his bailiff Woodcock, who, having been ordered by his lady to procure a fow of the breed and size she particularly described to him, came one day into the dining-room, when full of *great company*, proclaiming with a burst of joy, he could not suppress, "I have been at Royston fair, my Lady, and "got a fow exactly of your Ladyship's size." He also used to relate an incident that occurred to him in a morning ride from Wimple. Observing an elegant gentleman's house, he conceived a wish to see the inside of it. It happened to be that of Mr. Montague, brother to Lord Sandwich, who being at home, very politely, without knowing his Lordship, conducted him about the apartments, which were perfectly elegant; and expatiated on the pictures,

pictures, some of which were capital. Among these were two female figures, beautifully painted in all their native naked charms, drawn from the life. These ladies, says the master of the house, you must certainly know, for they are most striking likenesses. On the guest's expressing his perfect ignorance, why, where the devil have you led your life, or what company have you kept, says the Captain, not to know Fanny Murray and Kitty Fisher, with whose persons I thought no fashionable man like you could be unacquainted. "On my taking leave and saying, I should be glad to return his civilities at Wimple, what surprise and confusion did he express on his discovering he had been talking all this badinage to Lord Hardwicke."

His great accomplishment was an evenness of temper and command over his passions. which scarce ever suffered him to be transported into any indiscreet action or intemperate or indecent expression of resentment. This constant calmness I never knew forsake him but in one or two instances, which fell under my observation. In the debate on the Marriage-act, in the house of Lords, which was opposed with warmth in the other house by Mr. Fox, his Lordship's zeal for this his favourite measure betrayed him into unbecoming and rather abusive expressions towards his antagonist, calling him, in the warmth of invective, *that bad, black man*. Similar passion and intolerance of contradiction betrayed him into a mean and unmanly threatening to some, who withstood his attempts to defeat his brother Cooks's will, that they should feel severely the effects of his displeasure and resentment,

ment, that a Lord Chancellor had a long arm, which should reach them in whatever station or situation of life they might be placed, and however safe they might think themselves, and out of his reach. This threat too he executed with an implacable vengeance; one gentleman I know suffered from his persecution, and the long arm of Chancery, a loss of many thousand pounds; and another, a very learned and ingenious physician, well known and esteemed at Paris, and I believe still living there, was by it driven for many years from his country, degraded in his character, and nearly ruined in his profession.

Dr. Johnson, in the Life of Addison, vol. II. p. 167, well and wisely observes, “ that the necessity of complying with the times, “ and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography.” History may be formed from permanent monuments and records, but lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost for ever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and when it might be told it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct, are soon obliterated; and better were it much should be silently forgotten, however it might delight in description, than that by unseasonable detection a pang should be given to a descendant, a brother, or a friend. Impressed by this consideration, and feeling that we are *walking upon ashes, under which the fire is not extinguished*, I forbear enlarging on every circumstance my recollection suggests to me, whereby it might be made appear that it
is

is possible for a man, even in this enlightened age and nation, to raise himself to the highest eminence of wealth and honours (as they are called) without possessing a single spark or shadow of public virtue, or contributing the least atom to the happiness, improvement, or honour of his country or of mankind.

Of this, if you have any doubt, young gentleman, I recommend to your perusal the Diary of George Bub Doddington, published by Mr. Windham, and the very honest and sensible account of it by the Editor. Where you will see by what dextrous management of the marketable ware (*borough interest*) left him by a relation, George Bub, the son of an apothecary, in Dorsetshire, raised himself to some of the highest offices of the state, and the title of Lord Melcombe. This publication, such as was never before committed to paper, should always accompany the memoirs of Lord Hardwicke, as the proper commentary on the times and transactions of that Lord and his associates in administration. — Heaven send us better and less corrupt.

With every good wish for your success in this and all your undertakings, I am your's, &c.

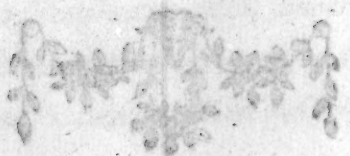


is possible for a man, even in his advanced age and nation, to
take kindly to the highest estimate of wealth and honors (as
they are called) without possessing a single spark of shadow of
ambition or covetousness for the sake of the reputation, in
his country, of his country or of mankind.

Of this if you have any doubt, young gentleman, I recommend
to your perusal the Diary of George, Earl of Bodonington, published
by Mr. Wingham, and the very honest and sensible account of it
by the Editor. Where you will see by what dangerous manage-
ment of the anti-episcopal war (always angry) left him by a re-
laxation, George, Earl of Bodonington, in Dorsetshire,
raised himself to some of the highest offices of the state, and the
rest of Lord Melbourn. The publication, such as was never
before contained, should always accompany the memoirs
of Lord Hardwicke, as the proper commentary on the times and
circumstances of that I said and his associates in administration.

I never find no peace and less courage.

With every good wish for your success in this and all your
undertakings, I am yours, &c.



A P P E N D I X:

CONTAINING

Proofs, Quotations, and Extracts,

FROM

BOOKS and PAPERS,

RELATIVE TO AND ILLUSTRATING THE

FOREGOING ESSAY.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

Proofs, Quotations, and Extracts,

FROM

BOOKS and PAPERS,

RELATIVE TO AND ILLUSTRATING THE

FORGEOING ESSAY.

A P P E N D I X.

IN proof of this I need only give a list of the great and literary characters existing in the time of King William and Queen Anne.

No. 1.

page 1.



MEN IN HIGH RANK.

Prince Eugene,	Earl of Nottingham,	Lord Bathurst,
Duke of Marlborough,	Earl of Oxford,	Lord Bolingbroke,
Duke of Berwick,	Russel Earl of Orford,	Lord Roscommon,
Duke of Wharton,	Earl of Stair,	Lord Godolphin,
Duke of Portland,	Earl of Peterborough,	Lord Cateret,
Duke of Argyle,	Earl of Shaftsbury,	Lord Harcourt,
Duke of Dorset,	Earl of Halifax,	Lord Cowper,
Duke of Shrewsbury,	Earl of Anglesea,	Lord Dartmouth,
Earl of Sunderland,	Earl of Orrery,	Lord Windfor.

LITERARY CHARACTERS.

Sir Wm Temple,	Gay,	Stillington,	South,
Dryden,	Otway,	Clarke,	Hoadley,
Addison,	Southan,	Bentley,	Dodwell,
Prior,	Rowe,	Burnet,	Baxter,
Pope,	Dacier,	Rapin,	Walpole,
Congreve,	Fenelon,	Prideaux,	Pulteney,
Steel,	Boileau,	Halley,	Crags,
Swift,	Moliere,	Boerhaave,	Winnington,
Arbuthnot,	Sir Evremont,	Sydenham,	Lyttleton,
Parnell,	Racine,	Puffendorf,	Foley,
Garth,	Corneille,	Leibnitz,	Trevor,
Young,	Newton,	Kneller,	Jekyl,
Philips,	Locke,	Vanban,	Holt,
Walfh,	Boyle,	Flamsteed,	Pratt,
Wycherley,	Berkeley,	Malbranche,	Waller,
Vanbrugh,	Atterbury,	Tillotson,	Hampden.

Extract

No. 1.
page 1.

Extract from a Paper of SWIFT's, entitled The EXAMINER,
No. 26, p. 162.

BUT why should not the present Ministry find a friend to praise them as well as the last? This is what I shall now undertake, and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deserved so little. *I have, without being called, served them half-a-year in the quality of champion, and by the help of the Queen and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them against a routed cabal of hated politicians, with a dozen of scriblers at their head: Yet so far have they been from rewarding me suitable to my deserts, that to this day they never so much as sent to the printer to know who I was; though I have known a time and Ministry where a person of half my merit and consideration would have had fifty promises, and in the mean time a pension settled on him, whereof the first quarter should be honestly paid.* Therefore my resentments shall so much prevail, that in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall at the same time take notice of their defects.

Sir Simon
Harcourt.

Lord
Cowper.

Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present Lord-Keeper, or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the house of commons; and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns? But then this must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative as well as practical part of polygamy; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a lunatic: he is no *Free-Thinker* in religion, nor has courage to be a *patron* of an atheistical book, while he is a guardian of the Queen's conscience. Though after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character as some would pretend.

Lord Ro-
chester.

The person who now presides at the council is descended from a great and honourable family, not *from the dregs of the people*; he was at the head

of

of the Treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his Prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his *conscience* and *honour*. He has been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the Crown and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own that he is neither *Deist* or *Socinian*: He has never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education; nor was ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance.*

No. 1.

page 1.

Lord Somers.

The present Lord Steward has been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; has continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning, and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office; but in point of *oratory* must give place to his predecessor.

Duke of Buckingham.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was highly instrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune; he has ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man; but in the agreeableness and fragrantcy of his person, and the profoundness of his politics, must be allowed to fall very short of the Duke of Kent.

D. of Devonshire.
LdChamberlain.

Mr. Harley had the honour of being chosen Speaker successively to three parliaments; he was the first of late years that ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his Prince with *duty* and *respect*. Easy and disengaging in private conversation, with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity, and a despiser of money; pursuing the true interest of his Prince and Country

Treasurer

No. 1. country against all obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him. A firm friend
 page 1. and a placable enemy, sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet with all these virtues it must be granted there is some mixture of human infirmity:

Lord Godolphin

His greatest admirers must confess his skill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and superficial: In horse-racing he is utterly ignorant. Then, to save a few millions to the public, he never regards how many citizens he hinders from making up their plumb. And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him, that he delights to have his table filled with black-coats, whom he uses as if they were *gentlemen*.

Mr Boyle

My Lord Dartmouth is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour; of strict virtue and regularity; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners than others in his station have done the *Queen*.

Lord Sunderland.

Omitting some others, I will close this character of the Ministry with that of Mr. St. John, who from his youth applying those admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at the age when the generality of mankind are employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented that he has not yet procured himself a *busy, important countenance*, nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be *difficult of access*. Besides, he has clearly mistaken the true use of books; which he has thumbed and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves; not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face, though he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

I have given the foregoing extract at large, because it was esteemed the chef-dou've of all the papers under the title of Examiner, so highly applauded

plauded by the party, and approved by the Minister, as to induce him (Lord Oxford) to order a payment of fifty pounds to Swift, which he refused and repented as the highest indignity and affront. — See his Journal and Letters to Stella.

No. 1.

page 1.

W

Mrs. Manly also, in her *Atalantis*, vol. iv. p. 62, gives a like fictitious account of the lowness of his birth, and uses the same expression of “the dregs of the people.” But her abuse and impudent misrepresentations are too low, vulgar, and indecent, to deserve any serious notice, and would contaminate any extract of that infamous work which must necessarily be made to give it a proper answer or refutation. Nor would I mention so vile a name or work, only in proof of the profligacy of Swift, who could submit to be joined with such an accomplice in so detestable an employment, to which he owed the deanery of St. Patrick and all his ministerial importance.

The Honourable Mr. WALPOLE gives this Account of JOHN
Lord SOMERS.

No. 2.

page 2.

W

“ONE of those divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprophaned, whilst all the rest is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All the traditional accounts of him, the historians of the last age, and its best authors, represent him as the most uncorrupt lawyer and the most honest statesman, as a master orator, a genius of the finest taste, and as a patriot of the noblest and most extensive views; as a man who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for posterity. He was at once the model of Addison and the touchstone of Swift: The one wrote *from* him,* the other *for* him.”†

The

* Essay on Milton's *Paradise Lost*; *Pleasures of the Imagination*; published in the *Spectator*. *Contests and Divisions between Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome*; *Tale of a Tub*. Published by Swift.

† Since this work was first printed, we have seen Dr. Swift's “*Four last Years of Queen Anne*,” where is a character of Lord Somers very different from what is here

Q

given,

No. 3.

page 2.



The former however has drawn a laboured, but diffuse and feeble character of him in the *Freeholder*, No. xxxix. May 4, 1716, neither worthy of the author nor his subject. It is known that my Lord Somers survived the powers of his understanding: Mr. Addison says, "his life indeed seems to have been prolonged beyond its natural term, under those indispositions which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the happy settlement take place which he had proposed to himself as the principal end of all his public labours." A very wise way indeed of interpreting the will of Providence! As if a man was preserved by heaven in a state of dotage till an event should arise which would make him happy if he retained his senses.

The momentous times in which he lived gave Lord Somers opportunity of displaying the extent of his capacity and the patriotism of his heart. The excellent balance of our constitution never appeared in a clearer light than with relation to this Lord, who, though impeached by a misguided house of commons, with all the intemperate folly that at times disgraced the free states of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence, and manifest an integrity which could never have shone so bright unless it had been juridically aspersed. In our constitution Aristides may be traduced, clamoured

given, and from the picture drawn of him in the *Dedication to the "Tale of a Tub."* Yet, distorted as the features are in this new history, it is a pleasure to find that party-malice attempted to discolour rather than to alter them. How lovely does a character burst forth when the greatest objections to it are, that it was steady to its principles, of universal civility, CONSCIOUS OF AN HUMBLE BIRTH, of no avarice, of satisfied ambition, that the person so accused did violence to himself to govern his passions, and (one can scarce repeat seriously such a charge!) preferred reading and thinking to the pleasures of conversation. How black a statesman not to be fickle! How poor a philosopher to master his passions when he could not eradicate them! How bad a man to endeavour to improve his mind and understanding! Can one wonder that Lord Bolingbroke and Pope always tried to prevent Swift from exposing himself, by publishing this wretched, ignorant libel; and could it avoid falling, as it has, into immediate contempt and oblivion! — Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. 11, Art. Lord Somers.

clamoured against; and when matter is wanting, summary addresses may be proposed or voted for removing him for ever from the service of the government; but happily the factious and the envious have not a power of condemning by a shell, which many of them cannot sign.

It was no inglorious part of this great Chancellor's life, that, when removed from the administration, his labours were still dedicated to the service of the government and of his country. In this situation, above all the little prejudices of a profession, for he had no profession but that of Solon or Lycurgus, he set himself to correct the grievances of the law, and to amend the vocation he had adorned. The union of the kingdoms, so often projected by others, was accomplished by him; and it was not to his disgrace that the Princess, whose prejudices he had conquered, and whose esteem he had gained, offered him up as one of the first sacrifices on the altar of Utrecht.

Such deathless monuments of his abilities and virtue diminish the regret we should otherwise feel, that though Lord Somers wrote several pieces, we are ignorant of even the titles of many of them; so little was fame is object! This modesty is mentioned particularly in the *Freeholder* I have quoted. What little I have been able to discover of his writings are these:

Dryden's *Satire to his Muse*. This I think has been disputed; and indeed the gross ribaldry of it cannot be believed to have flowed from so humane and polished a nature as Lord Somers's.

Translation of the *Epistle of Dido to Æneas*, and of *Ariadne to Theseus*; also of *Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades*.

A just and modest *Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments*. 1681. quarto. — First written by Algernon Sydney, but new drawn by Somers. — Burnet, vol. 1. p. 509.

No. 3.

page 2.

Other pieces at that time. — Gen. Dict. p. 284.

Two Speeches at a Conference on the word Abdicated.

Speech at the Trial of Lord Preston. — Somers's Life, p. 26.

Letter to King William on the Partition Treaty. — Gen. Dict. p. 286.

His Answer to his Impeachment.

Extracts from two of his Letters to Lord Wharton. — Ibid.

Addresses of the Lords, in Answer to the Addresses of the Commons.
Burnet, vol. II. p. 651.

The Argument of Lord-Keeper Somers on his giving Judgment in the Bankers' Case, delivered in the Exchequer Chamber, June 23, 1696.

A brief History of the Succession: Collected out of the Records, written for the Satisfaction of the Earl of H—. Somers's Tracts, vol. IV. p. 167.*

No 4.

page 2.

It is the observation of every man, who has thought or wrote on the subject, that the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle ranks of mankind, who are neither tempted out of her paths by Ambition, nor driven by Poverty. The prayer of Agar places the happy state of mediocrity of fortune in its true light: "Give me neither
"poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me, lest I be
"full, and forget who is the Lord; or lest I be poor, and steal, and take
"the name of my God in vain." This was the comfortable condition of the family of Somers, in which they had long lived in rural retirement, on an estate of about three hundred pounds a year, in the hamlet of Clifton, in the parish of Severn Stoke. In the former century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it had furnished the public with an Admiral high in reputation, Sir George Somers, who having discovered the island of Bermudas, and being wrecked upon the rocks there, gave the name of Somers

to

* We have often quoted this work. It is a collection of scarce pieces, in four volumes, quarto, published by Cogan, from pamphlets, chiefly collected by Lord Somers. A much more valuable treasure, his Collection of original Papers and Letters, was very lately lost by a fire in the chambers of Mr. Yorke, his Majesty's Solicitor-General.

to those islands, which they still retain. Another brother of the name of John, taking his flight from the same joyous nest, in 1589, settled at the White Ladies, and there founded the family, which, in the succeeding century, produced this Lord Somers: To whom, therefore, Horace's lines, book i. ode 12. are strictly applicable.

Hunc, et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
Leta paupertas, et avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.

I suppose *leta* the true reading, as Horace would not apply so harsh an epithet as *sæva* to a state, of whose joys he repeatedly expresses himself so sensible and so fond: Book i. Ep. 17.

Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis.
----- Licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regum vitâ precurrere amicos. — Book i. Ep. 10.
Fastidiosam deferre copiam.
Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum:
Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
Sollicitam explicuere frontem. — Book iii. ode 29.

Many other passages might be quoted of the like sentiment.

Account of the Siege of Worcester. — 1646.

Extract from a Manuscript of Mr. Townsend, of Elmley Lovet, who was in the City during the whole siege, and kept a regular diary, in which is mentioned,

March 26, 1646. Sir William Brereton, Colonel Morgan, and Colonel Birch, with about two thousand five hundred foot and horse faced the city of Worcester, and sent a trumpeter with a summons to deliver up the city; at night they drew off to Droitwich, and some went to the siege of Lichfield. March 30, the citizens and soldiers in the town destroyed St. Oswald's hospital, but spared Mr. Somers's house at the White Ladies, which was a strong stone building, capable of lodging five hundred men with safety.

No. 4.

page 2.

No. 5.

p. 4.

No. 6.

Inscription on a flat Grave Stone in SEVERN STOKE Church.

Page 5.

Lately discovered by Dr. EVANS, the worthy Rector of that Parish, and Arch-Deacon
of Worcester, on his repairing and beautifying the Chancel.



HERE LIETH RICHARD SOM

WALTER WALKER OF WORCESTER AND HAD ISSHV R'CHAD AND ELISAB.

ALLAS, THE FLOWER WHOM
WINTER HATH DECAVD
REVIVES IN SOMMER
GLORIOUSLY ARAID

SO SOMMER SHALL DET-
HS WINTER AT AN END
SPRING OVT OF DVST AND
VNT0 CHRIST ASSEND

REMARKS.

Those letters distinguished by an asterisk are united as
one in the original, in a similar manner as the diphthong
Æ of the capitals.

ANN THE DAUGHTER OF

ER OF, CEFTON WHO DEPARTED THE 13 OF JANVAR 1598 AND HAD TO WYF

Short ACCOUNT of the PEDIGREE of the FAMILY of SOMERS.

John Somers, = Margaret Buller,
of the White Ladies, of Worcester.
in Claines. 1589.

Richard Somers, = Joice Child, of Kidder-
minster. of the White Ladies.
Buried at Kidderminster.

Catharine = John Somers. Born at the
Severn, White Ladies. Buried at
Severn Stoke.

Mary = Richard Blurton, Clothier.
Baptized at Kidder-
minster, July 8, 1624.

John Somers, cr. Baron
of Evesham. Died, un-
married, 1716.

Mary = Charles Cocks, esq.
of Worcester.

Seabright, died un-
married. Buried in
Worc. cathedral.

Elizabeth, = Sir Joseph Jekyl,
born at White Master of the
Ladies. Rolls.

Margaret = James Harris, esq.
of Salisbury.

Somers and Foley
Blurton died
young.†

Mary = John Cookfey, son
Blurton of Edward, mayor
of Worc. 1688.

James Cocks, esq. = Anne, daughter
of Lord Berke-
ley of Stretton.

John, = Anne, heiress of
Fellow of Mer- Castleditch, He-
ton college. refordshire.

Mary = Sir Nicholas Williams.

Margaret = William Lygon,
of Maddresfield

Alfo to = Philip,
Earl of
Hardwicke.

John Cookfey.*
Richard Cookfey, esq. = Anne Meadow-
of White Ladies. court.

James Cocks, Ensign of a Grena-
dier company of the Guards, kil-
led in the action of St. Cas. 1758.

Charles,
Created Lord Somers, 1788.
Mary,
Elizabeth,
John,
Joseph,
James,
Philip,
Thomas,
Robert,
Timothy.

Philip,
Charles,
Joseph,
Elizabeth,
Margaret,
John,
James.

John,
Holland,
Anne,
Mary.

A Monument,

Erected to the MEMORY of their PARENTS,
And these his SONS,

In the Parish Church of St. NICHOLAS, Worcester,
Is preserved in one of the Dormitories, at the WHITE LADIES,
with this Inscription, composed by their Cousin, John Somers.

IN MEMORIAM

RICARDI BLURTON GENEROSI CUJUS QUOD MORTALE FUIT

SUBTUS JACET

MARIA ILLIUS VIDUA MASTISSIMA
HOC AMORIS SUI POSUIT MONAMENTUM
DENATUS EST XXX. DECEMB.

ANNO DOMINI 1667.

ÆTATIS SUÆ 53.

PERCARISSIMI ILLORUM FILII } SOMERS }
HUNC JUXTA DORMIUNT } FOLEY } BLURTON.

ILLE } OBIT XV. OCTOBRI, 1666

HIC } ---- XXVI. AUGUSTI 1670.

ANNOS NATUS QUATUOR

PRÆDICTA MARIA QUÆ MORTEM SUORUM DIU FLORAVERAT

IIIS DEMUM FUIT ADJUNCTA 25^o JUNII } ÆTATIS, LXVI.

ANNO } SALUTIS 1680.

* Resided constantly with Lord Somers. Died unmarried at his
house, at Croydon; and is interred in the church there.

*Inscription on a Monument, fixed to the East Wall of the
Church of SEVERN STOKE.*

No. 6,
page 5.

M. S.

JOHANNIS ET CATHARINÆ SOMERS,

AMORE OLIM ET FIDE CONJUGALI,

DUM UNA VIXERE,

JAM ET TUMULO CONJUNCTORUM.

QUI

NON FICTA IN DEUM PIETATE

IN UNIVERSOS CHARITATE,

COMITATE, SIMUL ET PRUDENTIA,

VITAM SIBI IPSIS JUCUNDAM

ALIIS UTILEM GRATAMQUE

EGERE.

ADEOQUE HINC IPSORUM DISCESSUS

ÆTATE LICET PROVECTIORE,

ALTERIUS SC. SEXAGESIMO ÆTATIS ANNO

ALTERIUS OCTOGESIMO SEXTO

SUIS, IN CUNCTIS

ACERBUS PLANE VISUS EST ATQUE IMMATURUS.

VIRI MORTEM LONGUM VIDUA DEFLEVIT.

PRISTINO DEHINC IN IPSUM AMORE

AD CARISSIMA PIGNORA, COMMUNES LIBEROS, CONVERSO;

SIC OPTIME DEFUNCTI MEMORIAM COLENS,

SIC VERE SUUM MONSTRANS AFFECTUM:

UTRIUSQUE AUTEM OBITUM

BONI DIUTISSIME DEFLEBUNT.

No. 7, Great reverence was paid in all nations and ages to salt, and the vessel in
 page 14. which it was set upon the table, and supposed to sanctify it.

Sacras facitis mensas salinorum appositu.*

If it was forgot to be properly placed it was thought a profanation of the table, and that some misfortune would happen in consequence of it, or of its being spilt. The salinum marked the antiquity and circumstance of the family, and was delivered down from one generation to another. So Horace, Ode xvi. Book 2.

Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
 Splendet in mensa tenui salinum.

And Persius, Sat. iii.

----- Sed rure paterno
 Est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum.

The mention made of the old family goblet and salt-seller in the following will, and the traits of simplicity, frugality and good cheer in which the several branches of the family lived together, induce me to give here two or three, out of many similar testimonies of their living on the parvo bene, and enjoying the happiest mediocrity of fortune in the old classical style.

Extract of Mrs. ANNE COOKSEY's Will, drawn by and in the Hand-Writing of Lord SOMERS. — Dated 1680.

AFTER several devises of lands, she thus disposes of her personal estate: — And I do give to my said son John all my books, and my best bed and bedstead, and (after different articles of household furniture) my great silver goblet and GILT SALT-SELLER and spoons. And all the rest of

* Salis ol'im quamdam in mensa religionem fuisse, et appositus sal mensam consecrare videbatur. Salinum vero præcipue memorat Horatius; tum quia primo loco solet apponi: tum præsertim quod veteres poculo et salino a majoribus accepto libentur utebantur. Et quibus nullum erat argenteum vas; salinum tamen ex argento habebant. — Turneb. ad locum.

of my household goods, I will, shall be divided equally amongst such other of my children as I shall leave at my death; my meaning being that my said son John shall have no more of them than what are herein before particularly mentioned. And as to all the rest of my personal estate, my will and meaning is, that after my debts and legacies and funeral expences are paid, the same shall be divided equally amongst all my children: And I do appoint my father Edward Cooksey, and my uncle John Somers, and my cousins John Somers and John Buller, executors of this my will. — In witness, &c.

No. 7.

page 14.

m

Copy of a Letter from FOLEY to BLURTON.

Superscription. — For my loving Kinsman Mr. RICHARD BLURTON, at his House at the White Ladyes, Worcester.

TO MY KINSMAN MR. RICHARD BLURTON,

MY respects to you and all our friends. I have underwritten sent you the coate of armes which my kinsman, Mr. Richard Wallis, hath with no small care found out; which being found is worthy of his labour, being a very good coate, I have given him order to draw mine and my wife's in a frame, and so hath cousin Ed. Blurton, who will be at a quarter charge. Your son, my father Blurton, and you, may send up your wife's coate of armes, and we will put them in a frame, and send them down to you; you wrott that you and father Blurton would be at half of the charge; which, when it is done, you shall know; and I assure you, kindly used and well done.

Happines to your sonne and heire, long life to you; all which is the desire of your loving kinsman.

JULY 1, 1663.

Robert ffoley.

R

Copy

No. 7.

Copy of a Letter from Lord SOMERS, when Lord Keeper.

page 14.

(Addressed to Mr. RICHARD COOKSEY, at the White Ladies, near Worcester.)



DEAR COUSIN,

THOUGH I desired my brother Cocks long since to return you my best thanks for your noble present of as good collar of brawn as ever was ate, (which I cannot doubt but he has done in the best manner I could wish) yet having feasted myself and made my friends often welcome to it, I cannot forbear to return you personally our joint thanks, which I have often promised them to do. There is another debt of thanks for which I stand personally engaged to you, and that very deeply, upon the account of your so kindly engaging yourself in my behalf, when some were making an interest lately to choose a new recorder for a city, which I have served long, and without any objection, as I have heard of. These favours I shall always own, and always desire to return in the best manner I can.

And shall remain, dear cousin,

Your most faithful servant,

SOMERS.

This name, at the conclusion is with a single M, as it was his custom to write it with a circumflex over it, as in the will of Anne Cooksey, wherein he twice writes it in this manner. On the monuments at White Ladies and Severn Stoke church, and in all the books belonging to him during his residence at the White Ladies and at Clifton, now in my possession, I observe it so written.

No. 8.

Mr. WALPOLE's *Account of Lord SHRESBURY's Duel with the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.*

page 16.



In the catalogue of the writings of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, is one, entitled, "The lost Mistress: A Complaint against the
" Countess

A P P E N D I X.

123

"Countess of ***** 1675." On which Mr. Walpole observes, this was No. 8.
probably the Countess of Shrewsbury, who is said to have held the Duke's page 16.
horse, disguised like a page during the combat, to reward his prowess;
and went to bed with him in the shirt, stained with her husband's blood.
The loves of this tender pair are celebrated by Pope:

----- How chang'd from him,
That life of humour and that soul of whim;
Gallant and gay in Cliefden's proud alcove,
The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love.

Dr. William Hopkins was a man of eminent abilities and respectable No. 10.
character, born at Evesham, in 1647, and entered at Trinity college, Ox- page 17.
ford, in 1660. He had attended Mr. Henry Coventry as his chaplain to
Sweden in 1671, and by him had been promoted to a prebend of the
church of Worcester in 1675, and planned the History and Antiquities of
that Cathedral. Being made master of St. Oswald's hospital, to which he
attended with exemplary care and disinterestedness, foregoing the benefit
of the salary and emoluments from it, he lived in habits of friendship and
constant intercourse with the family at the White Ladies, who were advised
and directed by him in the education of Mr. Somers, by whom he was
highly esteemed and entirely beloved to the time of his death, in 1700.
Dr. Hopkins lived also in perfect friendship with Bishop Fell and Doc-
tor Hickes; he married a daughter of Henry Bromley, esq. of Upton
Severn; but left no issue.

Letter from Archbishop TILLOTSON to the Earl of SHREWSBURY. No. 11.

(From the Life of TILLOTSON, by Dr. BIRCH.)

MY LORD,

IT was a great satisfaction to me to be any ways instrumental in the
gaining your lordship to our religion, which I am really persuaded to be

R 2

the

No. 11. the truth. But I am, and always was more concerned that your lordship
page 18. would continue a virtuous and good man, than become a Protestant, being
assured that the ignorance and errors of men's understanding will find a
much easier forgiveness with God than the faults of the will. I remember
that your Lordship once told me, that you would endeavour to justify the
sincerity of your change, by a conscientious regard to all other parts and
actions of your life. I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn your
own act than by being a worse man after your own profession to have em-
braced a better religion. I will certainly be one of the last to believe any
thing of your lordship that is not good; but I always feared I should be
one of the first that should hear of it. The time I last waited upon your
lordship, I had heard something that afflicted me very sensibly; but I
hoped it was not true, and was therefore loth to trouble your lordship about
it, I now think it my duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I
have been told that your lordship is of late fallen into a conversation, dan-
gerous both to your reputation and virtue, two of the tenderest and dearest
things in the world. I believe your lordship to have a great command
and conduct of yourself; but I am very sensible of human frailty, and of
the dangerous temptations to which youth is exposed in this dissolute age.
Therefore I earnestly beseech your lordship to consider, besides the high
provocation of almighty God, and the hazard of your soul, whenever you
engage in a bad course, what a blemish you will bring upon a fair and un-
spotted reputation; what uneasiness and trouble you will create to yourself
from the severe reflexions of a guilty conscience; and how great a violence
you will offer to your good principles, your nature, and your education,
and to a mind the best made for virtuous and worthy things. And do not
imagine you can stop when you please. Experience shews us the contrary,
and that nothing is more vain, than for men to think they can set bounds to
themselves

themselves in any thing that is bad. I hope in God no temptation has yet prevailed on your lordship so far as to be guilty of any loose act. If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed to an habit. The retreat is yet easy and open, but will every day become more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that upon your repentance and resolution of amendment, he is not only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce these considerations upon a mind so capable of and easy to receive good counsel; I shall only desire your lordship to think again and again how great a point of wisdom it is, in all our actions, to consult the peace of our minds, and to have no quarrel with the constant and inseparable companion of our lives. If others displease us, we may quit their company; but he that is displeased with himself is unavoidably unhappy, because he has no way to get rid of himself.

My Lord, for God's sake and your own, think of being happy, and resolve by all means to save yourself from this untoward generation. Determine rather upon a speedy change of your condition, than to gratify the inclinations of your youth in any thing but what is lawful and honourable; and let me have the satisfaction to be assured from your lordship, either that there has been no ground for this report, or that there shall be none for the future; which will be the welcomest news to me in the world. I have only to beg of your lordship to believe that I have not done this to sanctify the formality of my profession, but that it proceeds from the truest affection and good will that one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every day for your lordship with the same constancy and fervour as for myself; and do most earnestly beg, that this counsel may be acceptable and effectual. — I am, &c.

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The



The Freeholder, No XXXIX. — *Friday, May 4, 1716.*

PODESSE QUAM CONSPICI.

IT often happens, that extirpating the love of glory, which is observed to take the deepest root in noble minds, tears up several virtues with it; and that suppressing the desire of fame is apt to reduce men to a state of indolence and supineness. But when without any incentive of vanity, a person of great abilities is zealous for the good of mankind; and as solicitous for the concealment as the performance of illustrious actions; we may be sure that he has something more than ordinary in his composition, and has a heart filled with goodness and magnanimity.

There is not perhaps in all history a greater instance of this temper of mind than what appeared in that excellent person, whose motto I have placed at the head of this paper. He had worn himself out in his application to such studies as made him useful or ornamental to the world, in concerting schemes for the welfare of his country, and in prosecuting such measures as were necessary for making those schemes effectual; but all this was done with a view to the public good that should rise out of these generous endeavours, and not to the fame which should accrue to himself. Let the reputation of the action fall where it would, so his country reaped the benefit of it, he was satisfied. As this turn of mind threw off, in a great measure, the oppositions of envy and competition, it enabled him to gain the most vain and impracticable into his designs, and to bring about several great events for the safety and advantage of the public, which must have died in the birth, had he been as desirous of appearing beneficial to mankind, as of being so.

As he was admitted into the secret and most retired thoughts and counsels of his royal master King William, a great share in the plan of the Protestant succession is universally ascribed to him. And if he did not
entirely

entirely project the union of the two kingdoms, and the bill of regency, which seem to have been the only methods in human policy for securing to us so inestimable a blessing, there is none who will deny him to have been the chief conductor in both these glorious works. For posterity are obliged to allow him that praise after his death, which he industriously declined while he was living. His life indeed seems to have been prolonged beyond its natural term, under those indispositions which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the happy settlement take place, which he proposed to himself as the principal end of all his public labours. Nor was it a small addition to his happiness, that by this means he saw those who had been always his most intimate friends, and who had concerted with him such measures for the guarantry of the Protestant succession as drew upon them the displeasure of men who were averse to it, advanced to the highest posts of trust and honour under his present Majesty. I believe there are none of these patriots, who will think it a derogation from their merit to have it said, that they received many lights and advantages from their intimacy with my Lord Somers; who had such a general knowledge of affairs, and so tender a concern for his friends, that whatever station they were in, they usually applied to him for his advice in every perplexity of business, and in affairs of the greatest difficulty.

His life was, in every part of it, set off with that graceful modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more beautiful, the more they were cast in such agreeable shades.

His religion was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his firm adherence to it as modelled by our national constitution, and was constant to its offices of devotion, both in public and in his family. He appeared a champion for it with great

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No. 12. great reputation in the cause of the seven Bishops, at a time when the
page 18. Church was really in danger. To which we may add, that he held a strict
friendship and correspondence with the great archbishop Tillotson, being
acted by the same spirit of candour and moderation; and moved rather
with pity than indignation towards the persons of those who differed from
him in the unessential parts of Christianity.

His great humanity appeared in the minutest circumstances of his conversation. You found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his voice. His great application to the severer studies of the law had not infected his temper with any thing positive or litigious. He did not know what it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph in the superiority of his understanding, or to be supercilious on the side of truth. He joined the greatest delicacy of good breeding to the greatest strength of reason. By approving the sentiments of a person, with whom he conversed, in such particulars as were just, he won him over from those points in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever conferred with him grew the wiser, without perceiving that he had been instructed. We may probably ascribe to this masterly and engaging manner of conversation, the great esteem which he had gained with the late Queen, while she pursued those measures which had carried the British nation to the highest pitch of glory; notwithstanding she had entertained many unreasonable prejudices against him before she was acquainted with his personal worth and behaviour.

As in his political capacity we have before seen how much he contributed to the establishment of the Protestant interest, and the good of his native country, he was always true to these great ends. His character was uniform and consistent with its self, and his whole conduct of a piece. His principles were founded in reason, and supported by virtue; and therefore did

not

not lie at the mercy of ambition, avarice, or resentment. His notions were no less steady and unshaken than just and upright. In a word, he concluded his course among the same well-chosen friendships and alliances with which he began it.

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This great man was not more conspicuous as a patriot and a statesman than as a person of universal knowledge and learning. As by dividing his time between the public scenes of business and the private retirements of life, he took care to keep up both the great and good man; so by the same means he accomplished himself not only in the knowledge of men and things, but in the skill of the most refined arts and sciences. That unwearied diligence, which followed him through all the stages of his life, gave him such a thorough insight into the laws of the land, that he passed for one of the greatest masters of his profession, at his first appearance in it. Though he made a regular progress through the several honours of the Long Robe, he was always looked upon as one who deserved a superior station to that he was possessed of, till he arrived to the highest dignity to which those studies could advance him.

He enjoyed in the highest perfection two talents, which do not often meet in the same person, the greatest strength of good sense, and the most exquisite taste of politeness. Without the first, learning is but an incumbrance; and without the last, is ungraceful. My Lord Somers was master of these two qualifications in so eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with such an additional strength and beauty, as they want in possession of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece of poetry, a statue, or a picture, there was something so just and delicate in his observations, as naturally produced pleasure and assent in those who heard him.

His solidity and elegance, improved by the reading of the finest authors, both of the learned and modern languages, discovered itself in all his productions.

No. 12. ductions. His oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing trivial and affected. His style in writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of spirit and politeness; and fit to convey the most intricate business to the understanding of the reader, with the utmost clearness and perspicuity. And here it is to be lamented, that this extraordinary person out of his natural aversion to vain glory, wrote several pieces as well as performed several actions, which he did not assume the honour of. Though at the same time so many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe no author of the greatest eminence would deny my Lord Somers to have been the best writer of the age in which he lived.

This noble Lord, for the great extent of his knowledge and capacity, has been often compared with the Lord Verulam, who had also been Chancellor of England. But the conduct of these two extraordinary persons, under the same circumstances, was vastly different. They were both impeached by a house of commons. One of them, as he had given just occasion for it, sunk under it; and was reduced to such an abject submission, as very much diminished the lustre of so exalted a character: But my Lord Somers was too well fortified in his integrity to fear the impotence of an attempt upon his reputation; and though his accusers would gladly have dropped their impeachment, he was instant with them for the prosecution of it, and would not let that matter rest till it was brought to an issue. For the same virtue and greatness of mind which gave him a disregard of fame, made him impatient of an undeserved reproach.

There is no question but this wonderful man will make one of the most distinguished figures in the history of the present age; but we cannot expect that his merit will shine out in its proper light, since he wrote many things which are not published in his name; was at the bottom of many excellent

excellent counsels, in which he did not appear; did offices of friendship to many persons, who knew not from whom they were derived; and performed great services to his country, the glory of which was transferred to others: In short, since he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions than to gain an illustrious character.

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SWIFT'S *Dedication of the Tale of a Tub.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN LORD SOMERS.

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page 19.

MY LORD,

THOUGH the author has written a large dedication, yet that being addressed to a Prince whom I am never likely to have the honour of being known to; a person besides, as far as I can observe, not at all regarded or thought on by any of our present writers; and being wholly free from that slavery which booksellers usually lie under to the caprices of authors, I think it a wise piece of presumption to inscribe these papers to your lordship, and to implore your lordship's protection of them. *God and your lordship know their faults and their merits*; for, as for my own particular, I am altogether a stranger in the matter; and though every body else should be equally ignorant, I do not fear the sale of the book at all the worse upon that score. Your Lordship's name on the front, in capital letters, will at any time get off one edition. Neither would I desire any other help to grow an alderman, than a patent for the sole privilege of dedicating to your Lordship.

I should now, in right of a dedicator, give your Lordship a list of your own virtues, and, at the same time, be very unwilling to offend your modesty; but chiefly, I should celebrate your liberality towards men of great parts and small fortunes, and give you broad hints, that I mean myself. And I was just going on, in the usual method, to peruse a hundred or two of dedications, and transcribe an abstract to be applied to your lordship; but I was diverted by a certain accident: For upon the covers of these

No. 13. papers I casually observed, written in large letters, the two following words,
 page 19. *DETUR DIGNISSIMO*; which, for ought I knew, might contain some
 important meaning. But it unluckily fell out, that none of the authors I
 employ understand Latin; (though I have them often in pay to translate
 out of that language) I was therefore compelled to have recourse to the
 curate of our parish, who englished it thus, *Let it be given to the worthiest.*
 And this comment was, that the author meant his work should be dedi-
 cated to the *sublimest genius of the age for wit, learning, judgment, eloquence,*
and wisdom. I called at a poet's chamber (who works for my shop) in an
 alley hard by, shewed him the translation, and desired his opinion, who it
 was that the author could mean: he told me, after some consideration,
 that vanity was a thing that he abhorred; but by the description he thought
 himself to be the person aimed at; and at the same time, he very kindly
 offered his own assistance *gratis*, towards penning a dedication to himself.
 I desired him however to give a second guess; why then, said he, *it must*
be I, or my Lord Somers. From thence I went to several other wits of my
 acquaintance, with no small hazard and weariness to my person from a
 prodigious number of dark, winding stairs; but found them all in the same
 story, both of your Lordship and themselves. Now your Lordship is to
 understand, that this proceeding was not of my own invention; for, I have
 somewhere heard, it is a maxim, that those, to whom every body allows
 the second place, have an undoubted title to the first.

This infallibly convinced me that your Lordship was the person intended
 by the author. But being very unacquainted in the style and form of
 dedications, I employed those wits aforesaid to furnish me with hints and
 materials towards a panegyric upon your Lordship's virtues.

In two days they brought me ten sheets of paper filled up on every side.
 They swore to me, that they had ransacked whatever could be found in
 the

the character of Socrates, Aristides, Epaminondas, Cato, Tully, Atticus, and other hard names, which I cannot now recollect. However, I have reason to believe they imposed upon my ignorance, because when I came to read over their collections, there was not a syllable there, but what I and every body else knew as well as themselves: Therefore I grievously suspect a cheat; and that these authors of mine stole and transcribed every word from the universal report of mankind. So that I look upon myself as fifty shillings out of pocket to no manner of purpose.

If, by altering the title, I could make the same materials serve for another dedication (as my betters have done) it would help to make up my loss; but I have made several persons dip here and there in those papers, and, before they read three lines, they have all assured me plainly, that they cannot possibly be applied to any person but your Lordship.

I expected indeed to have heard of your Lordship's bravery at the head of an army; of your undaunted courage in mounting a breach, or scaling a wall; or to have *had your pedigree traced in a lineal descent from the house of Austria*; or of your wonderful talent at dress or dancing; or your profound knowledge in *algebra, metaphysics*, and the oriental tongues. But to ply the world with an old beaten story of your wit, *and eloquence, and learning, and wisdom, and justice, and politeness, and candour, and evenness of temper in all scenes of life*; of that great discernment in discovering and readiness in favouring deserving men; with forty other topics: I confess I have neither conscience nor countenance to do it. Because there is no virtue, either of a public or private life, which some circumstances of your own have not often produced upon the stage of the world; and those few, which, for want of occasions to exert them, might otherwise have passed unseen, unobserved by your *friends*, your *enemies* have at length brought to light.

It

No. 13. It is true, I should be very loth, the bright example of your Lordship's
 Page 19. virtues should be lost to after-ages, both for their sake and your own; but
 chiefly, because they will be so very necessary to adorn the history of a *late*
reign; and that is another reason, why I would forbear to make a recital
 of them here; because I have been told by wise men, that, as dedications
 have run for some years past, a good historian will not be apt to have re-
 course thither in search of characters.

There is one point, wherein I think we dedicators would do well to
 change our measures; I mean, instead of running on so far upon the praise of
 our patron's *liberality*, to spend a word or two in admiring their *patience*. I can
 put no greater compliment on your Lordship's, than by giving you so ample
 an occasion to exercise it at present. Though perhaps I shall not be apt
 to reckon much merit to your Lordship on that score, who having been
 formerly used to tedious harrangues, and sometimes to as little purpose,
 will be the readier to pardon this; especially when it is offered by one, who
 is, with all respect and veneration,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most faithful servant,

The BOOKSELLER.

DRYDEN'S *SATIRE to his MUSE.*

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Occasioned by the Poem, entitled, "ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL, published in 1681.

THIS Satire having been constantly reputed and published as written
 by Lord Somers, is proper to be preserved in this account of the early part
 of his life, which was spent in a close connexion and intimacy with the
 young Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Ashley,* son of the great Earl of
 Shaftesbury.

* Author, afterwards, of the *Characteristics*; in which the first Essay, on *Enthusiasm*,
 is addressed to Lord Somers, when Chancellor, proves him to have had a hand in some
 of the digressions inserted in the *Tale of a Tub*.

Shaftesbury. These may be supposed peculiarly and deeply hurt by a poem, in which their nearest friends and relations were so grossly abused. Wishing it to receive an answer of more weight and dignity than could be furnished by the pen of Elkanah Settle, the professed antagonist of Dryden, (over whom he so completely triumphs in the introduction of his poem of the medal,) they may fairly be supposed to have been provoked to this attempt, in poetry, though an art foreign to and unpractised by them.

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Si natura negat facit indignatio versum.

And that they called into the assistance of their friend, Mr. Somers, whose decent contribution to the piece is easily distinguishable from the grossness and ribaldry of the other parts, which are impossible to be his.

Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Dryden*, vol. II. page 56, observes, that in 1681, Dryden became conspicuous by mixing politics with poetry, in the memorable Satire, called *Abfalom and Achitophel*, of which the reception was so eager, and the sale so large, that his father, an old bookseller, told him, he had not known it equalled but by *Sacheverel's Trial*.

There is no need to enquire why these verses were read, which to all the attractions of wit, elegance, and harmony, added the co-operations of all the factious passions, and filled every mind with triumph or resentment. It could not be supposed that all the provocation given by Dryden would be endured without resistance or reply. Both his person and his party were by turns exposed to the shafts of satire. One of these, called "*Dryden's Satire to his Muse*," is ascribed, though Pope says, falsely, to Mr. Somers; and Mr. Walpole remarks, the gross ribaldry of it can hardly be supposed to have flowed from so humane and polished a nature as Lord Somers's. The poem, says Johnson, whosoever it was, is written with much virulence and some sprightliness. These parts I ascribe to the warm feelings and resentments of the young Lords, who tell all the ill they could

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could collect of Dryden and his friends, and the ignominious circumstances which attended his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Howard, a daughter of the Earl of Berkshire; a family the very reverse of that, of which History records all the sons to have been brave, and all the daughters virtuous. The serious and didactic part of the poem I have no doubt was Mr. Somers's; and, however defective it may be in poetry and wit, contains law maxims and doctrines perfectly just, sound, and constitutional. These I mark with inverted commas, and make that distinction which renders to the motto, prefixed by the author at its first publication, all its force and propriety.

"TURPITER HUC, ILLUC INGENIOSUS ERAT."

DRYDEN'S SATIRE to his MUSE. — Written by Lord SOMERS and the Earl of SHREWSBURY.

HEAR me, dull prostitute, worse than my wife,
Like her, the shame and clog of my dull life;
Whose first essay was in a tyrant's praise,*
Baudy in prologues, blasphemous in plays:
So lewd, thou mad'st me for the Church unfit,
And I had starv'd, but for a lucky hit,
When the weak Ministers implor'd my wit:
Stol'st me from business, where I might have made
A solid fortune, to thy barren trade.
My father wisely bid me be a clerk;
Thou whisper'dst, Boy, be thou a tearing spark.
I from that fatal hour new hopes pursu'd,
Set up for wit, and awkwardly was lewd;
Drank 'gainst my stomach, 'gainst my conscience swore,
Against my will, I marry'd a rank whore:

Lady Eliz.
Howard,

After

* His panegyric on Oliver Cromwell,

Daughter
of Earl
Berkshire

After two children, and a third miscarriage,
By brawny brothers hector'd into marriage.
Affected rapes and lusts I'ad never known;
As if that all Gomorrah was my own.
Nor love, nor wine, could ever see me gay,
To writing bred, I knew not what to say.
With scolding wife and starving chits beset,
When I want money, and no friend will treat,
Cheer'd with one cup of thy Castalian spring,
I can abuse the church, my friend, and king;
Tell him he's jilted, fool'd, led by the nose,
Then, like Almanzor, turn upon his foes;
Libel his mistresses, and statesmen too,
Then o'er his whoring life old David throw,
By whom Uriah was so basely slain;
But our good monarch spares his Castlemain,
And Oates his plots and treasons swears in vain:
Defame the men that gave me meat and clothes,
And then deny it with a thousand oaths.
Adriel to please, call Rochester a fool,
Sedley a capuchin, and Dorset dull.
I, like Borosky, by the false count hir'd,
On Scroop my blunderbuss of satire fir'd;
In cold blood call'd him fool, knave, coward too;
What more to Hall or Cranbourn could I do;
Who long enjoy'd e'er I began to woo?
Thou'lt say, perhaps, what is all this to thee,
If I a coward, cuckold, villain be?

T

LordSun-
derland,

But

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But then thou should'st thy sacred aid refuse,
 When I invoke it to so base a use;
 Blunt, of my murd'ring pen, the killing point,
 And honestly refuse the odious hint.
 But thou ne'er com'st so gladly to my call,
 As when on merit unprovok'd I fall.
 Is there a patriot to be defam'd,
 Lady abus'd, or virtuous action blam'd?
 Thou, with officious haste, rank'st every word,
 And giv'st thy raging madman a sharp sword:
 Devils to witches are not more at hand
 Than thou, when I an hellish task command.
 To thee, ungrateful! what has Monmouth done,
 That, parson-like, thou call'st him Absalon?
 And by that name dost foolishly infer,
 He from old David's head the crown would tear.
 Was he ambitious, he had kept his place:
 Stood high in David's as the people's grace;
 And warlike chief of the Prætorian bands,
 To the whole nation's hearts had join'd their hands;
 Of public good dissembl'd his deep care,
 With the false Jebusite a-while kept fair;
 Then in some great decisive glorious day,
 Make those vile cormorants disgorge their prey,
 Our church, religion, freedom, and our laws,
 Those darling morsels of their longing jaws.
 Wife Stanley thus, till Bosworth's fatal day,
 Did seeming faith to cruel Richard pay;

But

But left the tyrant in the heat of fight,
And brought success to Harry's drooping right,
Monmouth's brave mind could no disguise endure,
Still noble ways preferring to secure;
" While David lavishes his people's love,
" He buys the purchase with design t'improve;
" And like some prudent kinsmen, re-convey
" What the wild heir hath vainly thrown away,
" Left the great ancient family decay.
" Good honest David why would'st thou have made
" Of such a son a parliament afraid?
" Which whilst he sways, what faction dares dispute,
" Or who can say, he is not absolute!
" Through them he may command the people's purse,
" And spend their wealth and blood without a curse.
" By laws they would a popish heir exclude,
" Not by rude force, or a tumultuous crowd:
" Against Navarre the factious princes leagu'd,
" And the right heir the papal world intrigu'd:
" When a long war had plac'd him on the throne,
" The state-religion he was forc'd to own;
" The harmless people took it in good part,
" The zealous church yet stabb'd him to the heart;
" Taught all by story, there was no defence,
" But they must change their faith, or change their prince,
" Who would not here the like extremes prevent,
" And settle things by aid of parliament?



A P P E N D I X.

- " Thou only Court, presiding at the helm,
 " Which mak'ft all others useful to the realm.
 " Inferior judges tremble to decree
 " What may hereafter be condemn'd by thee :
 " The Chancellor's and Statesman only dread,
 " For it is thou alone can reach their head.
 " By thee fell Wolfey, and false Clarendon,
 " Abandon'd by their kings, but here undone ;
 " Both over-whelm'd for daring to remove,
 " Or stem the torrent of their master's love :
 " The one fair Bullen to his prince deny'd ;
 " The other made lov'd Stuart, Richmond's pride, }
 " And with the royal blood for ever mingl'd Hyde. }
 " To their own ruin can all men agree,
 " And none the precipice but courtiers see ?
 " Courtiers, who importune the sovereign,
 " To pardon robbers, cut-throats, for their gain ;
 " Who live on ideots, lunatics, forfeits, fines,
 " And cannot thrive but when the nation pines.
 " Unhappy we, if rul'd by such, whose rent
 " Consists in breaches of the government.
 " Some few there are with great estates indeed,
 " Yet labour with imaginary need :
 " Strange sort of fools, who, for one pension more,
 " Enslave themselves, and all they had before.
 " Others, with titles and new earldoms caught,
 " Would give up all for which the Barons fought :

" They're

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W

" They're equally unfit for government,
 " Who nothing have, or nothing will content."
 Who bid thee in Achitophel's vile name,
 Old David's errors and his faults proclaim ?
 Or say, plots true or false are needful things,
 To set up commonwealths, or pull down kings ?
 That David, whom thou dost with rev'rence name,
 Charm'd into ease, grows careless of his fame,
 And brib'd with petty sums of foreign gold,
 Is grown in Bathsheba's embraces old ?
 That like the prince of angels, from his height,
 He now comes downward with diminish'd light ?
 If David once ill language lay to heart,
 Who shall the poet from the traitor part ?
 " The people's voice, of old the voice of God,
 " Thou call'st the voice of an unruly crowd.
 " Crowds are the fools, — — — — —
 " That flock to thine and D'Urfey's loyal plays,
 " And give implicit claps on your third days :"
 About the stage of mountebank they wait,
 And whoop at cudgels, or a broken pate,
 But have, like thee, no int'rest in the state.
 " Rule as thou wilt the realm of Mexico,
 " And under iron yokes make Indians bow ;
 " But with old England what hast thou to do ?
 " Who from our kings no useful pow'r would take ;
 " Nor have the pow'r ; but for the people's sake
 " Disarm themselves, and anarchy bespeak.

" Kings.

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- " Kings may do good at their full stretch of will,
 " And need not for a strain of law stand still.
 " They spare with mercy, though with judgment kill,
 " Confin'd, like God, only from doing ill.
 " Thus in our papal fire, to save the town,
 " Some houses were blown up, and some pull'd down;
 " None blam'd the order, since 'twas understood,
 " A private mischief's for a public good,
 " Though we all perish, yet we must forbear
 " The sacred title of a popish heir,
 " If we thy foolish politics should hear.
 " Somewhere there must a sov'reign pow'r be,
 " In kings, in lords, in commons, or all three,
 " Deriv'd from God, and only less than his,
 " Which can do all, and nothing do amiss;
 " The sacred ties of marriage can dissolve,
 " And children in their parents crimes involve,
 " Making those bastards who had else been heirs,
 " And injur'd husbands legal widowers;
 " Cut off entails, make new, repeal old laws,
 " And of contending kings decide the cause.
 " This from the helm our learned Richard thrust,
 " Confess'd their pow'r, and own'd their sentence just.
 " And on the throne our brave fourth Edward fate,
 " Whilst Harry liv'd a pris'ner of the state.
 " Alphonso thus depos'd for his weak life,
 " Pedro enjoy'd his kingdom and his wife.
 " There

A P P E N D I X.

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" There *jus divinum* barks not at his right,
 " Damns not his rule by day, nor love by night.
 " In his defence, each private man may kill;
 " Must then a nation perish and stand still?
 " If for our laws, faith, God, we may not fight,
 " When can a Christian sword be in the right?"
 O! the prodigious wit, and wond'rous sting,
 To call Achit'phel son, unfeather'd two-legg'd thing!
 So by old Plato man was once defin'd,
 'Till a pull'd cock that notion undermin'd.
 Thy Amiel with bull Jonas self may vie
 For all but courage, wit, and honesty.
 As loud he roar'd 'gainst the prerogative,
 As sharply blam'd, as stingily would give,
 'Till his own wants oblig'd him to receive,
 And on his cheated fire he could no longer live.
 Whose whole estate, when he in trust, had got,
 Thy honest Amiel grudg'd him pipe and pot.
 Thy Hushai next, a true friend e'er a man,
 So soon his dearness with his prince began,
 Was but fourteen when David was abroad,
 Less fit for a king's friendship than a rod;
 Which he deserv'd, when he with tears reply'd,
 And in full house the loyal baby cry'd:
 How could one German journey teach his youth,
 And add experience to his native truth!
 Abroad he learn'd to live upon his prince,
 As ev'ry fool, whore, bully, has done since;
 To other merit he has no pretence.

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Lord
Ashley.

Seymour,
Winington.

Lord Go-
dolphin.

Barzillai's

Duke of
Ormond,

Bishop of
London.

LordSun-
derland.

Lord
Hallifax,

Barzillai's praise I could rehearse again,
And make the labour of my second pen;
Wife, valiant, loyal, rich, of high descent,
Born t' all that fortune for her darlings meant,
Who nobly scorn'd a private happiness,
When he beheld the sovereign in distress:
To arms he flew, but, with bold Cato's fate,
Espous'd the cause that Fortune seem'd to hate:
Striving to save the head that wore the crown,
He pull'd the mighty ruin on his own.
But why extoll'st Jerusalem's sagan,
At drink and whores indeed a very dragon?
Not Magdalen, possess'd in all her prime,
With her ten devils could have equal'd him.
Why would'st thou call thy Adriel a muse,
And David of his hasty rise accuse?
When we all know the same obliging hand
Gave him his George, and Churchill his command,
Jermin his country house, and Bromwich his point band.
Or Jotham flatter'd that vain fickle thing,
Famous for jests upon the church and king:
One while Pythagoras's harmless food,
For thoughts and politics must cool his blood;
And then again with whores and lusty wines,
Revels all night, and thinks him mad that dines.
Quibbles, jokes, puns, and trifling wit he has,
And like the Swede, is very rich in brass:

Against



Against the court and David's self he roar'd,
 How ill he govern'd, and how worse he whor'd;
 Would swear a parrot had more wit than Nelly,
 With her parch'd face, more wrinkled than her belly.
 Yet now to both, like popish saints, he prays,
 Which shews he will not burn in James's days:
 In his plain band, and honesty in shew,
 He only aim'd at Danby's overthrow;
 Which when obtain'd, this patriot had his ends,
 And farewell all his plain well-meaning friends;
 There was no plot, no popish Duke to fear,
 With Danby all our dangers disappear.
 Danby thus setting, to prevent dark night,
 This paler moon shews forth its clearer light.
 Misguides our counsellors with her glim'ring ray,
 And all our men of bus'ness lose their way:
 Our parliament's dissolv'd, new members meet,
 An Oxford journey must allay their heat:
 But the true English interest appear'd,
 The silversmiths for their Diana fear'd;
 Pop'ry would pass on us in no disguise,
 No flow'rs could hide that serpent from our eyes,
 We're in such haste dissolv'd, that in the street
 New chosen with dissolved members meet;
 And then a paper, in good David's name,
 Must the proceedings of the house defame.
 " Sheriffs and juries pack'd, justices made
 " Knights of th' address, and all false colours laid,

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& 15.

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" To cheat their party with a vain conceit,
 " The people, parliaments both fear, and hate.
 " What Sampson in a dungeon, captive, blind,
 " In spiteful rage for cruel foes design'd,
 " The house of commons must be thought to do
 " Against themselves, and those that trust 'em too.
 " The head shall sooner fear its own right hand,
 " Parents their smiling infants death command,
 " The cheerful birds fit silent in the spring,
 " Than lords or commons hurt the realm or king.
 " They may thy heroes, that small faithful band,
 " Precious counsellors, who dare singly stand }
 " 'Gainst the collective wisdom of the land.
 " David in exile had more friends than thou
 " Wilt to his best, his happier days allow.
 " Why sounds thy trumpet in the time of peace?
 " Art thou afraid our diff'rence should cease,
 " That thus thou talk'st of rebels, treasons, more
 " Than any Irish witness ever swore :
 " Soldiers of fortune thus to drive a trade,
 " Care not what ruin, or what slaughter's made.
 " But hear me prophesy, and mark me well
 " E'er thrice the rose renews its fragrant smell,
 " People and king shall join, like man and wife,
 " And both abhor the engines of their strife :
 " No more shall they endure a hackney pen,
 " And thou, cashier'd, shalt to the stage again, }
 " Please none but silly women, or worse men;

" David

- " David shall find duty an empty word,
 " (For diff'rent faiths can never have one sword:
 " The knot of friendship is but loosely ty'd,
 " 'Twixt those that heavenly concerns divide.)
 " He then shall with his parliament agree,
 " And lives and fortunes shall their language be;
 " Monmouth be blest'd for all that he has done,
 " While thy vile heroes to their pardons run.
-

No. 14,

& 15.

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To make the reader amends for this specimen of indifferent poetry, but good principles and constitutional law, contained in the foregoing Satire, I cannot refrain treating him with some extracts from the celebrated poem of Dryden, which provoked this their answer; as containing the highest strains of poetry, and keenest satire, employed in varnishing the vilest, civil, moral, and political depravity in the English language.

Oh! had the poet ne'er prophan'd his pen —
 The clear torrent, though serene and bright,
 Betrays a bottom odious to the sight.

EXTRACTS from DRYDEN'S Poem, entitled ABSALOM and ACHITOPHEL,

(First published in the year 1781,)

Tending to illustrate and explain several passages in the foregoing poem; to which it gave occasion. Hume, in his History of England, vol. VIII. page 338, observes, that this poem of Dryden's sensibly contributed to the victory, which the Tories obtained over the Whigs, after the exclusion of parliaments.

No. 14. The character of Charles II. and his son, the Duke of Monmouth, are
& 15. thus boldly and inimitably drawn.

page 20.



" In pious times, e'er priest-craft did begin,
 " Before polygamy was made a sin;
 " When man on many, multiply'd his kind,
 " E'er one to one was, curf'dly, confin'd:
 " When Nature prompted, and no law deny'd
 " Promiscuous use of concubine and bride;
 " Then, Israel's monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
 " His vigorous warmth did variously, impart,
 " To wives and slaves: and, wide as his command,
 " Scatter'd his Maker's image through the land.
 " Michal, of royal blood, the crown did wear;
 " A foil ungrateful to the tiller's care:
 " Not so the rest; for several mothers bore
 " To God-like David, several sons before.
 " But, since like slaves his bed they did ascend,
 " No true succession could their seed attend.
 " Of all the numerous progeny was none
 " So beautiful, so brave, as Absalon:
 " Whether, inspir'd by some diviner lust,
 " His father got him with a greater gust;
 " Or that his conscious destiny made way,
 " By manly beauty to imperial sway.
 " Early in foreign fields he won renown,
 " With kings and states ally'd to Israel's crown:
 " In peace the thoughts of war he could remove,
 " And seem'd as he were only born for love.
 " Whate'er

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& 15.

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" Whate'er he did, was done with so much ease,
 " In him alone 'twas natural to please:
 " His motions all accompany'd with grace;
 " And paradise was open'd in his face.
 " With secret joy, indulgent David view'd
 " His youthful image in his son renew'd:
 " To all his wishes nothing he deny'd,
 " And made the charming Annabel his bride,
 " What faults he had (for who from faults is free?)
 " His father could not, or he would not see.
 " Some warm excesses, which the law forbore,
 " Were constru'd youth that purg'd by boiling o'er."

The temper of the English nation at that time is strongly and too truly described in the following lines:

" The Jews, a head-strong, moody, murm'ring race,
 " As ever try'd the extent and stretch of grace;
 " God's pamper'd people whom, debauch'd with ease,
 " No king could govern, nor no God could please;
 " (Gods they had try'd of ev'ry shape and size,
 " That god-smiths could produce, or priests devise:)
 " These Adam-wits, too fortunately free,
 " Began to dream they wanted liberty,
 " And when no rule, no president was found,
 " Of men, by laws less circumscrib'd and bound;
 " They led their wild desires to woods and caves;
 " And thought that all but savages were slaves.
 " They who, when Saul was dead without a blow,
 " Made foolish Ishbabeth the crown forego;

" Who

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" Who banish'd David did from Hebron bring,
 " And, with a general shout, proclaim'd him king:
 " Those very Jews, who, at their very best,
 " Their humour more than loyalty exprest,
 " Now wond'ring why, so long, they had obey'd
 " An idol monarch which their hands had made:
 " Thought they might ruin him they could create;
 " Or melt him to that golden calf, a state.
 " But these were random bolts: No form'd design,
 " Nor interest made the factious croud to join:
 " The sober part of Israel, free from stain,
 " Well knew the value of a peaceful reign;
 " And, looking backward with a wise affright,
 " Saw seams of wounds, dishonest to the sight:
 " In contemplation of whose ugly scars,
 " They curst the memory of civil wars.
 " The moderate sort of men, thus qualify'd,
 " Inclined the balance to the better side:
 " And David's mildness manag'd it so well,
 " The bad found no occasion to rebel.
 " But, when to sin our bialt nature leans,
 " The careful devil is still at hand with means;
 " And providently pimps for ill desires;
 " The good old cause reviv'd, a plot requires.
 " Plots, true or false, are necessary things,
 " To raise up common-wealths, and ruin kings.
 " Govern'd by the Moon, the giddy Jews
 " Tread the same track when she the prime renews:

" And

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" And once in twenty years, their scribes record,

" By natural instinct they change their Lord."

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& 15.
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The character of Anthony, the first Earl of Shaftsbury, is thus severely given:

" Of these the false Achitophel was first:

" A name to all succeeding ages curst.

" For close designs, and crooked counsels fit;

" Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit:

" Restless, unfixed in principles and place;

" In pow'r unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace.

" A fiery soul, which working out its way,

" Fretted the pigmy-body to decay;

" And o'er informed the tenement of clay.

" A daring pilot in extremity;

" Pleas'd with the danger, when the waves went high

" He fought the storms; but for a calm unfit,

" Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit.

" Great wits are sure to madness near ally'd;

" And thin partitions do their bounds divide;

" Else, why should he, with wealth and honour blest,

" Refuse his age the needful hours of rest?

" Punish a body which he could not please;

" Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?"

" And all to leave, what with his toil he won,

" To that unfeather'd, two legg'd thing, a son:?"

" Got, while his soul did huddl'd notions try;

" And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.

" In

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& 15.

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Ld High
Chancel-
lor.

" In friendship false, implacable in hate;
 " Resolv'd to ruin or to rule the state.
 " To compass this, the triple bond he broke;
 " The pillars of the public safety shook:
 " And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke.
 " Then, seiz'd with fear, yet still affecting fame,
 " Usurp'd a patriot's all-attoning name,
 " So easy still it proves in factious times,
 " With public zeal to cancel private crimes:
 " How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
 " Where none can sin against the people's will?
 " Where crouds can wink, and no offence be known,
 " Since in another's guilt they find their own.
 " Yet, fame deserv'd, no enemy can grudge;
 " The Statesman we abhor, but praise the Judge.
 " In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abbethdin.
 " With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean:
 " Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress;
 " Swift of dispatch, and easy of access.
 " Oh! had he been content to serve the crown,
 " With virtues only proper to the gown;
 " Or, had the rankness of the soil been freed
 " From cockle, that oppress'd the noble seed:
 " David, for him his tuneful harp had strung,
 " And heav'n had wanted one immortal song.
 " But wild Ambition loves to slide, not stand;
 " And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land."

The

The powers of poetry, and rancour of abuse, are equally conspicuous in the following portraitures of the Duke of Buckingham and the active Whigs and opposers of the Court and Ministry at that time.

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& 15.
page 20.

Duke of
Buckingham.

- " Some of their chiefs were princes of the land :
- " In the first rank of these did Zimri stand :
- " A man so various, that he seem'd to be
- " Not one, but all mankind's epitome.
- " Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
- " Was every thing by starts, and nothing long ;
- " But in the course of one revolving moon,
- " Was chemist, fidler, statesman, and buffoon :
- " Then all for women, painting, rhiming, drinking :
- " Besides ten thousand freaks that dy'd in thinking,
- " Blest madman, who could every hour employ,
- " With something new to wish, or to enjoy !
- " Railing and praising were his usual themes,
- " And both (to shew his judgment) in extremes :
- " So over violent, or over civil,
- " That every man, with him, was God or devil.
- " In squandering wealth was his peculiar art :
- " Nothing went unrewarded, but desert.
- " Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late :
- " He had his jest, and they had his estate.
- " He laugh'd himself from court ; then sought relief
- " By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief :
- " For, spight of him, the weight of business fell
- " On Absalom, and wise Achitophel :
- " Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,
- " He left not faction, but of that was left.

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Sidney.
Armstrong.
Ferguson.

Win. ...
ton.

Sheriff
Bethell.

“ Titles and names ’twere tedious to rehearse
“ Of Lords, below the dignity of verse.
“ Wits, warriors, common wealths men, were the best :
“ Kind husbands, and mere nobles all the rest.
“ And therefore, in the name of dulness, be
“ The well-hung Balaam and cold Caleb free.
“ And canting Nadab let Oblivion damn,
“ Who made new porridge for the paschal lamb.
“ Let Friendship’s holy band some names assure :
“ Some their own worth, and some let Scorn secure.
“ Nor shall the rascal rabble here have place,
“ Whom kings no titles gave, and God no grace.
“ Not bull-fac’d Jonas, who could statutes draw
“ To mean rebellion, and make treason law.
“ But he, though bad, is follow’d by a worse,
“ The wretch, who Heav’n’s Anointed dar’d to curse :
“ Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring
“ Of zeal to God, and hatred to his king ;
“ Did wisely from expensive sins refrain,
“ And never broke the sabbath, but for gain :
“ Nor ever was he known an oath to vent,
“ Or curse, unless against the government.
“ Thus, heaping wealth, by the most ready way
“ Among the Jews, which was to cheat and pray :
“ The City, to reward his pious hate
“ Against his master, chose him magistrate :
“ His hand a vane of Justice did uphold ;
“ His neck was loaded with a chain of gold.

“ During

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page 20.

W

- " During his office, treason was no crime :
- " The sons of Belial had a glorious time :
- " For Shemei, though not prodigal of pelf,
- " Yet lov'd his wicked neighbour as himself :
- " When two or three were gather'd to declaim
- " Against the monarch of Jerusalem,
- " Shimei was always in the midst of them.
- " And if they curst the king, when he was by,
- " Would rather curse than break good company.
- " If any durst his factious friends accuse,
- " He pack'd a jury of dissenting Jews :
- " Whose fellow feeling in the goodly cause,
- " Would free the saint from suff'ring human laws.
- " For laws are only made to punish those
- " Who serve the King, and to protect his foes.
- " If any leisure time he had from pow'r,
- " (Because 'tis sin to misemploy an hour :)
- " His bus'ness was, by writing to persuade
- " That kings were useless, and a clog to trade :
- " And, that his noble style he might refine,
- " No Rechabite more shunn'd the fumes of wine
- " Chaste were his cellars ; and his shrivel board
- " The grossness of a city-feast abhor'd.
- " His cooks, with long dispute, their trade forgot ;
- " Cool was his kitchen, though his brains were hot."

To these specimens of the keenness of Dryden's satire it is necessary, for rendering the poem, ascribed to Lord Somers, better understood, to add some of his skill in panegyric. Nothing can exceed the amiable picture he draws, under the name of Barzillai, of the Duke of Ormond, and Lord

No. 14 Offory, his son; or the beautiful numbers in which he laments the untimely
 & 15. death of the latter: on whom his father bestowed a panegyric equally strong
 page 20. and expressive, in answer to a friend, condoling him on his loss: *I would
 not exchange (said he) my dead son for any living son in Christendom.*

Duke of
 Ormond.

Offory.
 LdOffory

“ In this short file Barzillai first appears ;
 “ Barzillai crown’d with honour and with years :
 “ Long since, the rising rebels he withstood
 “ In regions waste beyond the Jordan’s flood :
 “ Unfortunately brave to buoy the state ;
 “ But sinking underneath his master’s fate :
 “ In exile with his God-like prince he mourn’d ;
 “ For him he suffer’d, and with him return’d.
 “ The court he practis’d, not the courtier’s art :
 “ Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart :
 “ Which well the noblest objects knew to choose,
 “ The fighting warrior and recording muse.
 “ His bed could once a fruitful issue boast ;
 “ Now more than half a father’s name is lost.
 “ His eldest hope, with ev’ry grace adorn’d,
 “ By me (so Heav’n will have it) always mourn’d ;
 “ And always honour’d, snatch’d in manhood’s prime
 “ B’unequal fates, and providences crime :
 “ Yet not before the goal of honour won,
 “ All parts fulfill’d of subject and of son ;
 “ Swift was the race, but short the time to run.
 “ Oh ! narrow circle, but of power divine,
 “ Scanted in space, but perfect in thy line !
 “ By sea, by land, thy matchless worth was known ;
 “ Arms thy delight, and war was all thy own :

Thy

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- " Thy force, infus'd, the fainting Tyrians propp'd
- " And haughty Pharoah found his fortune stopp'd.
- " Oh! ancient honour; oh! unconquer'd hand,
- " Whom foes unpunish'd never could withstand!
- " But Israel was unworthy of his name:
- " Short is the date of all immoderate fame.
- " It looks as Heav'n our ruin had design'd,
- " And durst not trust thy fortune and thy mind.
- " Now, free from earth, thy disencumb'red soul
- " Mounts up, and leaves behind the clouds and starry pole.
- " From thence thy kindred legions may'st thou bring,
- " To aid the guardian angel of thy king.
- " Here stop, my muse, here cease thy painful flight;
- " No pinions can pursue immortal height:
- " Tell good Barzillai thou canst sing no more,
- " And tell thy soul she should have fled before."

The praises he gives, in the following lines, to others of the King's friends, are, in the opinion of the author of Dryden's Satire to his Muse, more poetical than just.

- " Zadoc, the priest, whom, shunning pow'r and place,
- " His lowly mind advanc'd to David's grace:
- " With him the sagan of Jerusalem,
- " Of hospitable soul, and noble stem;
- " Him of the Western dome, whose weighty sense
- " Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence.
- " The prophets sons, by such example led,
- " To learning and to loyalty were bred:

Archbish:
of Canter-
bury.

Bishop of
London,

Sprat, Bp
of Roch,
Dean of
Westmin,

" For

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& 15.

The
Judges.

Hallifax,

Sunder-
land,Godol-
phin,Seymour,
Sp. H. C.

" For colleges on bounteous kings depend,
 " And never rebel was to arts a friend.
 " To these succeed the pillars of the laws :
 " Who best could plead, and best can judge a cause.
 " Next them a train of loyal peers ascend,
 " Sharp judging Adriel, the Muses' friend,
 " Himself a muse : — In Sanhedrin's debate
 " True to his Prince ; but not a slave of state.
 " Whom David's love with honours did adorn,
 " That from his disobedient son were torn.
 " Jotham, of piercing wit, and pregnant thought
 " Endu'd by Nature, and by learning taught
 " To move assemblies, who but only try'd
 " The worse awhile, then chose the better side :
 " Nor chose alone, but turn'd the balance too ;
 " So much the weight of one brave man can do.
 " Hushai, the friend of David in distress,
 " In public storms of manly steadfastness ;
 " By foreign treaties he inform'd his youth,
 " And join'd experience to his native truth.
 " His frugal care supply'd the wanting throne ;
 " Frugal for that, but bounteous of his own :
 " 'Tis easy conduct when exchequers flow,
 " But hard the task to manage well the low :
 " For sovereign power is too deprest or high,
 " When kings are forc'd to sell or crouds to buy.
 " Indulge one labour more, my weary Muse
 " For Amiel ; — who can Amiel's praise refuse ?

" Of



" Of ancient race by birth, but nobler yet
 " In his own worth, and without title great :
 " The Sanhedrin long time as chief he rul'd,
 " Their reason guided, and their passions cool'd;
 " So dextrous was he in the Crown's defence,
 " So form'd to speak a loyal nation's sense,
 " That as their band was Israel's tribes in small,
 " So fit was he to represent them all.
 " Now rather charioteers the seat ascend,
 " Whose loose careers his steady skill commend.
 " They, like th' unequal Ruler of the day,
 " Misguide the seasons, and mistake the way;
 " While he withdrawn at their mad labour smiles,
 " And safe enjoys the sabbath of his toils."

These unmerited censures of their friends, and applause of their enemies, naturally excited that personal attack on the poet, and strictures on the parties he characterises, which appear rather indecently and petulantly expressed, in the poem ascribed to Mr. Somers, but which I impute to his noble, warm, and justly exasperated friends. What provoked *his* resentment, and induced him to his share in the reply, was the false and slavish system of political power and government, contained in the following lines, to which, as a lawyer, not a prerogative one, he has given, in that piece, a full and complete answer and refutation.

" What shall we think ! Can people give away,
 " Both for themselves and sons, their native sway ;
 " Then they are left defenceless to the sword
 " Of each unbounded, arbitrary lord :

" And

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& 15.

page 20.



- " And laws are vain, by which we right enjoy,
 " If kings unquestion'd can those laws destroy ;
 " Yet if the croud be judge of fit and just,
 " And kings are only officers in trust ;
 " Then this resuming cov'nant was declar'd
 " When kings were made, or is for ever bar'd :
 " If those who gave the sceptre could not tie,
 " By their own deed, their own posterity ;
 " How then could Adam bind his future race ?
 " How could his forfeit on mankind take place ?
 " Or how could heav'nly justice damn us all,
 " Who ne'er consented to our fathers fall ?
 " Then kings are slaves to those whom they command
 " And tenants to their people's pleasures stand,
 " Add that the pow'r for property allow'd,
 " Is mischievously seated in the croud :
 " For who can be secure of private right,
 " If sovereign sway may be dissolv'd by might ?
 " Nor is the people's judgment always true :
 " The most may err, as grossly as the few.
 " Almighty croud, thou shorten'st all dispute ;
 " Power is thy essence ; wit thy attribute !
 " Nor faith nor reason make thee at a stay,
 " Thou leap'st o'er all eternal truths in thy Pindaric way !
 " Athens, no doubt, did righteously decide,
 " When Phocion and when Socrates were try'd :
 " As righteously they did those dooms repent,
 " Still they were wise, whatever way they went.

" Crouds

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" Crouds err not, though to both extremes they run;

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" To kill the father, and recall the son.

82 15.

" A tempting doctrine, plausible and new:

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" What fools our fathers were, if this be true!

" Who, to destroy the seeds of civil war,

" Inherent right in monarchs did declare:

" And, that a lawful pow'r might never cease,

" Secur'd succession, to secure our peace.

" Thus property and sovereign sway, at last

" In equal balances were justly cast:

" But this new Jehu spurs the hot-mouth'd horse;

" Instructs the beast to know his native force:

" To take the bit between his teeth, and fly

" To the next headlong steep of anarchy.

" Ah! what is man, when his own wish prevails!

" How rash, how swift to plunge himself in ill;

" Proud of his pow'r, and boundless in his will!

" That kings can do no wrong we must believe:

" None can they do, and must they all receive?

" Help, Heaven! or sadly we shall see an hour,

" When neither wrong nor right are in their pow'r!

" Already they have lost their best defence,

" The benefit of laws, which they dispense.

" No justice to their righteous cause allow'd;

" But baffled by an arbitrary croud."

BURNET's History of his own Times, vol. i. page 500. — An No. 16,
Answer was written to the King's Declaration with great spirit and true page 25.

Y

judgment.

No. 16, judgment. It was first penned by Sydney; but a new draught was made
 page 25. by Somers, and corrected by Jones.

DITTO, page 509. — A book was written, in support of what was called Ignoramus Juries; in which law and reason were brought in their defence. It past as writ by Lord Effex, though I understood afterwards it was writ by Somers, who was much esteemed and often visited by Lord Effex, and wrote the best papers that came out in that time.

No. 17,
 page 26.

RAPIN's History, vol. ii. page 770.

END OF THE NOTES ON LORD SOMERS.



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A P P E N D I X

TO THE

LIFE of Lord HARDWICKE.

CONTAINING EXTRACTS AND PROOFS.

AMONG Dr. Birch's papers, in the British Museum, No. 4325, of Pa. 70, Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue, is a letter from Mr. Moreland, dated line 22. 1708; and another from Mr. Samuel Palmer, dated November 18, 1709; both directed to Mr. Philip Yorke, at Mr. Salkeild's, attorney-at-law, in Brook-street, near Holborn-bars, London. Morland was master of a dissenting academy, where he had his early education.

IN the same collection of papers, is a letter from Earl Macclesfield, Pa. 74, Lord-Chancellor, dated London, March 17, 1719, directed to Philip line 19. Yorke, esq. counsellor at law, M. P. at the assizes, at Dorchester, acquainting him with his being that day appointed Solicitor-General. And also the following letter from Mr. Secretary Crags to Mr. Yorke.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will be informed from other hands of what has happened between the Attorney and Solicitor General. In the squabble the latter has lost his employment, and the first, I believe, will not succeed in his recommendation of Mr. Denton to be his successor; for, I believe, the King has resolved to appoint you; which I am glad of, for his service, and for my particular satisfaction: Who am, entirely,

Your most faithful humble servant,

COCK-PIT, March 17, 1719.

Y 2

J. CRAGS.

Pa. 76, THE Honourable Mr. Barrington, in his Observations on the Statutes,
 line 3. p. 325, taking notice of the great increase of business in the court of Chancery, says, there is not a report of a single decision by Lord Bacon; some few indeed (and those important ones) by Lord Nottingham: We have hardly a determination of consequence by the great Lord Somers: and though he was succeeded by lawyers of ability and eminence, yet it may be said that we owe the present beneficial and rational system of equity to the peculiar national felicity of the greatest lawyer and statesman of this or perhaps any other country, having presided in this court near twenty years, without a single decree having been reversed, either in the whole or any part of it: An infallibility which in no other instance was ever the lot of humanity.

Pa. 77, IN the collection before referred to, is a very spirited letter from the
 line 12. Honourable Mr. Philip Yorke to his father, dated Nov. 12, 1741, recommending most earnestly Dr. Birch for preferment in the church: And also one from Mr. Charles Yorke, dated February 16th, 1752-3, offering him, from Lord-Chancellor, a very paltry piece of preferment, which the Doctor properly refused accepting. He had that very year, with indefatigable care and pains, completed a voluminous and very insignificant work, Thurloe's State Papers, in seven volumes, folio; which he had been put upon by Lord Hardwicke, and had dedicated to him, in a strain of very fulsome panegyric, previously communicated to his Lordship.

Pa. 86, THERE is, among Dr. Birch's papers, in the British Museum, a
 line 16. Latin letter, dated Sept. 15, 1724, from Lord Hardwicke (then Sir Philip Yorke) to Dr. Clark, desiring his correction of an inscription on a monument to one of the Bradford family, in consequence of a request in a letter, "A Cocceio exoris meæ Germano, tibi bene noto."

This

This brother of his wife's, Mr. James Cocks, had married for his first wife the only daughter of the last Earl of Bradford; by whom he had a son, who died an infant; and the lady, his mother, soon after.

S O N N E T.

Pa. 87,
line 19.

TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE,

On his being chosen Member of Parliament for RYCGATE, in the Room of his elder Brother, who made his Election for the County of CAMBRIDGE.

By Mr. EDWARDS.

CHARLES, whom thy country's voice applauding calls,

To Philip's honourable vacant seat,

With modest pride the glorious summons wait;

And rise to fame within St. Stephen's walls.

Now wear the honours, which thy youth befalls,

Thus early claim'd from thy lov'd, learn'd, retreat:

To guard those sacred rights which elevate

Britain's free sons above her neighbour states.

Let Britain, let admiring Europe see,

In those bright parts, which erst too long confin'd;

Shone in the circle of thy friends alone,

How sharp the spur of worthy ancestry

When kindred virtues fire the gen'rous mind,

Of Somers's nephew, and of Hardwicke's son.

EXTRACT from GENERAL BLIGH's *Instructions*. — 1758.

Pa. 91,
line 26.

IT being highly expedient, and of the greatest utility, to continue some expedition, that may cause a diversion, and engage the enemy to employ,

in

Pa. 91,
line 26.

in their own defence, a considerable part of their forces destined to invade and oppress the liberties of the empire, and to subvert the independency of Europe; and, if possible, to make some effectual impresson on the enemy; which, by disturbing and shaking the credit of their public loans, and at the same time securing and protecting the commerce of our own subjects, by striking at the principal seats of their privateers, as well by disconcerting, and in part frustrating, their dangerous and extensive operations of war, may reflect lustre on our arms, and add life and strength to the common cause: our will and pleasure is, that you do exert your utmost endeavours to land, if it shall be found practicable, with the troops under command, at or near Cherburg, on the coast of Normandy, and to attack the batteries, forts, and towns of Cherburgh; and in case, by the blessing of God upon our arms, the said place shall be carried, and that our troops shall be able to maintain themselves there a competent time, for demolishing and destroying the port and bason, together with the ships, naval stores, and works, batteries, fortifications, arsenals, and magazines, thereunto belonging, you are to use all possible means effectually to demolish and destroy the same; and you are also to exert such other efforts, as you shall judge most proper to annoy and distress the enemy. When this service shall be completed, or in case the attack abovementioned on Cherburg shall not succeed, our will and pleasure is, that you do proceed to carry a warm alarm along the coast of France, and to make descents upon any part or parts thereof; and attack any place, that may be found practicable, from the eastermost part of Normandy, as far westward as Morlaix inclusive; and you are to carry into execution all or any of the above operations, in such order of time, as from the circumstances of the wind and weather shall be most advisable, and most conducive to our service: And whereas the diversion hereby proposed to be made, is of the highest importance to the good of the common cause, our will and pleasure is, that
you

you continue, with as much vigour, and give as much duration to the various operations of the present expedition, as shall be found practicable and consistent with the good of our service, as well from the strength and tenable nature of any place or post, whereof you may become master, as from the force which the enemy shall collect in those parts to oppose you, and from the circumstances and situation of our troops and ships; during which time you are to exert all such efforts for annoying the enemy as you shall judge proper; and you are in all cases to preserve, with the utmost attention and circumspection, the communication with our ships, &c.

Pa. 91,
line 26.

EXTRACT of a Letter from LIEUT. GEN. BLIGH *to the* RIGHT HON.
WILLIAM PITT, ESQ.

UNINFORMED as I was from my instructions, or from any body before I left London, and unprovided with intelligence, as I went upon the expedition only three days after I came from Ireland, from whence his Majesty was pleased to call me, to command his troops going into Germany, I had no other means to direct my conduct, than such reasonings as I could form of myself, and such informations as I could pick up at sea, or in my last descent. From the intelligence, in which Lord Howe placed the greatest confidence, I understood that in time of peace there had been at St. Briai, a place within a mile of St. Lunaire, three hundred vessels, though of no great burthen. We landed therefore at St. Lunaire the fourth of September, but did not find at St. Briai above twenty vessels; which were destroyed, as well as some batteries upon that coast.

For my part, when I considered the difficulties of acting with vigour upon the coast of France, with the number of troops under my command, greatly diminished from what they were upon the late expedition, I was very sorry that his Majesty was obliged to have recourse to me, and to desire

Pa. 91, desire me to accept of a command which had been refused by so many
line 26. general officers.

I was sent for from Ireland, to command the troops going to Germany, and upon my arrival, was surpris'd to find that the command was given to those who had declined going any more upon such expeditions, after having made a trial of the nature of the service. I intended then to resign my commission, which I thought I could no longer keep with honour. But being press'd very much to accept the command of the troops going upon the expedition, I thought it my duty not to decline it; and that his Majesty should not be deprived at least of my honest endeavours, though I saw the uncertainty of the event. The people in France being already alarmed, the only place fix'd on in my instructions already threatened, I had reason to think that they would be more prepar'd; which I found to be the case: At the same time that the number of our troops were diminish'd above one third, there being a great many sick in the Isle of Wight, and three of our best battallions sent to Germany.

Even in the most favourable situation, if one half of the expeditions, which depend upon so many circumstances, succeed, it must be owing to extraordinary good fortune, or extraordinary courage and capacity; and the public must be a great gainer, and have great reason to be satisfi'd in such a case. Expeditions ought to be consider'd as attempts; and troops sent upon such a detachment, the whole of which may perish at a particular time with propriety, and the satisfaction of every good man; because, upon one hand, a considerable advantage may arise to the state; and upon the other hand, putting things to the worst, by their death the state is in no danger.

In the engagement of the rear-guard at St. Cas, the number of the killed and wounded of the enemy were by far greater than the numbers of
the

our killed, wounded, and drowned. Even if prisoners were included, the whole is inferior, by the most probable conjectures from their own accounts, to the number of their killed and wounded. Pa. 91,
line 26.

I submit cheerfully to the opinion of my superiors; but since this has been their sentiments, I do not choose to have power or lucrative employments upon such terms, but leave them to those who deserve their approbation more than I have done. Some can possess them upon any terms; I am not of that number.

Though I am satisfied, that I end my career in the manner I have done, yet I cannot help being sorry for my country, upon the account of the effects I believe this must have upon young men of spirit, abilities, and lovers of military glory, who, with a noble emulation, desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their country. The number is few; I am afraid the number will be less: Yet I do not rest my mind long upon this thought, for kingdoms and states must have their old age as well as myself.



11 AP 36

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor discoloration and a small dark spot near the bottom center. A faint vertical crease or fold line is visible near the right edge.

ESSAY

POLITICAL FACTORS

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7

ERRATA.

Page 8, line 1, tradition for traditions.

-- 17, --- 8, for the read their.

-- 19, -- 16, Peter, read Peters.

-- 21, -- 18, for tertuffles read tartuffes.

-- 23, -- 13, dele 16.

-- 25, -- 23, dele that.

-- 26, -- 15, for Tindal read Rapin.

-- 35, -- 6, for signed, read by Cloro.

-- 37, -- 14, for o'er read tow'rds.

-- 40, -- 5, for malavolent read malevolent.

-- --, -- 21, for Cooks, read Cocks.

-- 44, -- 8, for Price read Birch.

-- 75, -- 9, for members read enemies.

-- 103, -- 28, for Cooks read Cocks.

-- 162, -- 27, for exoris read uxoris.